

## EDITORIAL FOREWORD

It is with sadness that the present issue of *BASP* begins with necrologies for two highly respected and beloved colleagues and friends who have contributed so much to the field of Papyrology and Classics at large. Both of them are missed very much.

This volume marks a change in hands of the Managing Editor of the journal. Special thanks are due to Terry Wilfong who has been editing the journal tirelessly since 1995 and remains on the Editorial Board also for this issue. Over the past several years, the editors collectively have expanded the scope of the journal into new areas and in new directions with the publication of several articles that shed light on the multicultural and multifaceted nature of Egyptian society. As a result, the journal has increasingly become a forum not only for the publication of new texts, but also for cross-disciplinary exchanges. In this volume, we continue this effort with a special thematic section on the body in ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean cultures.

In recent years, the journal has profited very much from the generous support of the University of Michigan, in particular the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology and the Graduate Library, whose staff have made available their facilities for the publication of the journal in camera-ready form. For financial and equipment support, we are particularly indebted to the Dorot Foundation and to Mr. Ralph Conger respectively.

The present issue was produced camera-ready in the Papyrology Rooms, Graduate Library, University of Michigan, on a Mac G4 computer and was printed on a Hewlett-Packard LaserJet 5000GN at 1,200 dpi.

Traianos Gagos, Editor-in-Chief

## †William H. Willis

(1916-2000)

Bill Willis died on July 13, 2000 in Durham, North Carolina at the age of 84. Papyrology has lost one of its staunchest practitioners and one of its most effective leaders over the last half of the twentieth century. From the time he was introduced to papyri by Michael Rostovtzeff and C. Bradford Welles at Yale in the late 30's, Bill was a productive papyrological scholar, editor and leader. In this short memoir, I will touch only briefly on the highlights of a most distinguished career and of Bill's rich and productive life. I will dwell at more length on his work in Papyrology. I attach an appendix with a brief vita and a short bibliography supplementing that found in the volume of this journal dedicated to him on the occasion of his retirement in 1986.

Bill had an outstanding career and was a leader in many areas of Classical Studies. He served as President of the American Philological Association, of the Fédération Internationale des Études Classiques, of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. He was an early and instrumental supporter of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, serving on its board for many years including a term as President. He provided effective support for the founding of the Archaeology Museum at the University of Mississippi and for the establishment of the Art Museum at Duke University. There is a long list of the organizations, Classical and others, to which Bill gave his time and energy, among which were the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, the Southern Humanities Conference, the National Advisory Council on Preservation and the American Research Center in Egypt.

No account of Bill's achievements can pass over his editorship of *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*. For twenty years, 1960-79, Bill devoted his considerable talents and energy to making *GRBS* one of the leading scholarly journals in the field of Classics. He attended to every detail of its appearance and to the quality of every article published. He made it policy to keep only a two issue backlog

to insure timely publication of scholarly articles. He was particularly attentive to the needs of young scholars and, more than a handful of successful Classicists owe their article writing expertise to the gentle tutelage that Bill offered. It is also noteworthy that the journal recognized the continuity of Greek civilization into the mediaeval period long before "Late Antiquity" became a distinct area of scholarly endeavor.

I first met Bill at the Ancient Documents Study Group, an informal gathering of Papyrologists and Epigraphers who came together at the annual meetings of the American Philological Association. We all brought documents on which we were working and which had interesting problems. It was relaxed, fun, and often profitable. When this group evolved into the American Society of Papyrologists in 1963, Bill came aboard as a charter member. He never flagged in his support and served as a director and officer including the presidency over a long period of time.

Bill was a believer in the necessity of physical contact with the material culture of Antiquity. He was himself a collector of rare books and editions, of coins and papyri. He was instrumental, both at the University of Mississippi and then at Duke University, in helping to create Museums and Classical Collections within those museums. At Duke he was also an indefatigable supporter of the efforts to build the Greek and Latin manuscript collections, both now fine scholarly resources. He was also tireless in helping to build or maintain the scholarly resources of the Duke Library. His own gifts of books, rare books and papyri have made him one of the largest donors to the Duke Library over the last 40 years.

Bill was the prime mover in building the Duke Papyrus Collection between 1963, when he moved to Duke as Professor of Greek, and 1984. In this last year, when we obtained the papyrus containing the *Comoedia Dukiana* fragment among other texts, we came to the realization that we had a large collection over which we did not have proper control. Eventually when we obtained funds to catalogue and digitize images of our collection, we found that it numbered 1373 pieces, one of the six largest collections in North America. In addition, Bill had previously built a collection at the University of Mississippi which we subsequently acquired at Duke.

Bill's first papyrological publication was an edition of an Aeschines papyrus which appeared in *TAPA* in 1955. Subsequently he published a number of literary fragments, another Aeschines, an important piece of Plato and a corner of Cicero's *First Catilinarian*. But he did not scorn the documentary side, publishing a number of such texts. His last work on Ammon Scholasticus was in its way a happy combination of literary and documentary material.

Bill also published a number of studies and reports on papyrological matters pertaining to the Mississippi and Duke collections. His "Census of the Literary Papyri from Egypt," *GRBS* 9 (1968) 205-41 remains an important contribution. He was also an active contributor to the various editions of the *Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*.

At the moment of his retirement from active teaching at Duke in 1986, Bill was presented with a Festschrift, volume 22 of the *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*. Change of status to Professor Emeritus of Greek did not bring a diminution of activity, and the next 13 years showed major scholarly production. Among other publications there appeared in these years the *editio princeps* of the *Comoedia Dukiana* in 1991; an edition with translation and commentary of *First Epistle* of Peter in Archaic Sahidic Coptic, also in 1991; and finally his edition of the letter of Ammon Scholasticus in vol. 1 of the projected *P. Ammon* series in 1997. Much of the work on finishing this volume was done while Bill was heroically fighting off the effects of the illness which caused him much pain and which seriously affected his eyesight.

Bill's greatest contribution to the science of Papyrology is undoubtedly in the creation of the Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri. Here his talents for organization, his attention to details and his perfectionism, as well as his persistence first convinced the Duke administration to support the proposal of Dr. David W. Packard to create the Data Bank at Duke and second insured its high quality and usability. Bill and I worked together on the Duke Data Bank with support financial and intellectual from David Packard from 1982 until 1996. The issue in 1997 of Packard Humanities Institute CD #7, which holds the 5 million words of Greek and Latin found on published papyri—in fact all published at the date of the issue of the CD—was the culmination of 15 years of



continuous effort. After this time Bill was no longer able to be active in the ongoing work, but was always glad to hear that it was continuing.

Bill will be sorely missed in the councils of the American Society of Papyrologists and those of the Association Internationale de Papyrologues. He had attended every gathering of these organizations since World War II until the Berlin Congress of 1992. For the last two years he had been unable to come to the library, and the papyrological presence here at Duke has been diminished. We treasure his legacy here at Duke as do all his friends among papyrologists and classicists worldwide.

## A Short Vita and Publications of W.H. Willis after 1986<sup>1</sup>

B.A. Mississippi College (1936)

M.A. Columbia (1937)

Ph.D. Yale (1940)

Instructor, Yale (1940-1942)

Associate to Professor and Chair, Univ. of Mississippi (1947-1963)

Professor of Greek, Duke Univ. (1963-1986)

Professor Emeritus of Greek (1986-2000)

U.S. Army, from private to captain (1942-1946); retired from the Army Reserve with the rank of Lt.Col.

"*Comeodia Dukiana*," *GRBS* 32 (1991) 331-53.

"First Epistle of Peter," in *Archaic Sahidic Coptic*, edited with translation and commentary in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*. Subsidia t. 85, ed. James E. Goehring (1991).

*The Archive of Ammon Scholasticus of Panopolis*, with K. Marersh (= *P.Ammon I*). Pap.Col. 16.1. Opladen 1997.

*The Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri*, issued by the Packard Humanities Institute on PHI CD #7 (1997).

JOHN F. OATES

*Duke University*

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<sup>1</sup> A bibliography to 1986 can be found in *BASP* 22 (1986) ix-xi

## †William Matt Brashear

(1946-2000)

William M. Brashear was born on September 5, 1946 in Ithaca, New York and died on February 2, 2000, in Spencer, New York. He was educated at Newfield High School and at Oberlin College, graduating in 1968. Not long after he entered the graduate program in Classical Studies at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, an opportunity arose for him to spend a year on a research grant from the Volkswagen Foundation in order to study papyri at the Egyptian Museum (Charlottenburg) in what was then West Berlin. Although Bill's knowledge of Greek and Latin language and literature was outstanding, before the transforming experience which he was about to undergo he had no experience with papyri; shortly before his departure for Germany Professor Herbert C. Youtie, whom he had consulted for advice, was in fact heard to remark that he had better give Bill some relevant reading to look at "on the plane." Bill's dissertation, which he completed in 1973, after returning to Ann Arbor, under the supervision of Youtie and Professor Orsamus M. Pearl, was an edition of 19 unpublished Greek papyri from the Berlin museum. These texts were later republished (with a few exceptions) in *BGU* XIII.

In 1973, Bill moved to Berlin, where he was to stay for the rest of his short life. What brought him back there was the offer of a job as research assistant—funded again, initially, by the Volkswagen Foundation—at the Egyptian Museum in Charlottenburg where he had received his baptism in papyrology. With it came the opportunity to work on additional unpublished texts in Germany's largest papyrus collection, with excellent facilities for research including the Museum's own papyrus conservator and photographer as well as a first class library for Papyrology and Egyptology. In 1979, Bill succeeded Herwig Maehler as Keeper of Greek Papyri at the Museum.

Among the thousands of unpublished papyri, there were two groups of texts which caught Bill's attention above all others: cartonnage papyri from mummy cases, and magical texts. In close co-operation with the conservator, who cleaned papyri and dismantled

mummy cases, Bill was able to publish three volumes of documentary papyri: *Greek Papyri from Roman Egypt* (BGU XIII, 1976; non-cartonnage texts); *Ptolemäische Urkunden aus Mumienkartonage* (BGU XIV, 1980), and *The Archive of Athenodorus* (BGU XVI, 1995; cartonnage texts of the early Augustan period). In addition to studies deriving from documentary papyrology (such as his *Vereine im griechisch-römischen Ägypten*, Konstanz 1993), Bill also published a number of literary and subliterary texts. Over the years, he became particularly interested in horoscopes and other astronomical texts, astrology, mathematics, and above all magical texts. His first publication of these appeared in 1975 ("Vier Berliner Zaubertexte", *ZPE* 17), many more in *ZPE* 33 (1979), in *APF* 36 (1990), 38 (1992), and (with Adam Bülow-Jacobsen) *Magica Varia* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 25, 1991). In the process of editing all these papyri, he had become an expert on Greek magical texts, and the result was an introductory monograph of more than 300 pages, *The Greek Magical Papyri, An Introduction and Survey: Annotated Bibliography (1928-1994)*, ANRW Part II, 15.5, 1995, which has become a fundamental reference work.

Bill had an eye for interesting and unusual texts which others had taken no notice of. One such text was a small fragment of a codex leaf from Hermupolis with parts of instructions relating, as Bill brilliantly discovered, to the cult of Mithras; he published it, with a good survey of the evidence for this cult in Egypt, as the first Supplementband to *Tyche* (1992). Another exciting discovery in a leaf from a papyrus codex revealed a gnostic text, a "Prayer of Seth." In 1998 he published a papyrus letter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century in Syriac (*APF* 44). His expertise, his very wide knowledge of these and related fields, and the high standard of his publications earned him international recognition as one of the leading papyrologists of his generation, as well as invitations to publish texts in other collections, such as Würzburg, Tübingen, the Getty Museum in Malibu, the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, and the Sorbonne in Paris. His last major project was a volume of all the Christian texts of the Berlin collection, many of which had been scattered over a wide range of different journals, Festschriften, etc., to be published in the recently resurrected series of *Berliner Klassikertexte* (BKT); however, the cruel illness which scared and tormented him during the last two years of his life left him no time to complete it.

Bill Brashear had a remarkable flair for languages. His German was near-perfect and pleasingly idiomatic; he was fluent in Italian and French, and was often called upon to guide speakers of those languages through the museum's Egyptian art collections. After his first visit to China, as a visiting professor in the Institute for the History of Ancient Civilization at the Changcun Northeast Normal University, he developed a real passion for Chinese culture. He studied the language over many years, taking private lessons in Berlin, and became quite fluent in Chinese. He regularly visited China, staying for several months each time to teach Classics and to travel, all the while regaling colleagues with travelogue letters describing his experiences.

Bill Brashear will be remembered as a most urbane and affable man, a scholar of amazingly wide knowledge who was always happy to share it, and a colleague who always went out of his way to help others. He was extremely generous with his time whenever someone sought his advice, asked him to check readings in papyri, or wished permission to publish texts from the Berlin collection: if he was satisfied that his visitor was competent and would do a good job, he made the text available and gave all the assistance that was needed. He was convinced that keepers of museums and collections have a duty not only to look after their treasures but to make them available to visitors and scholars. His approachability and his breadth of learning made him in demand as a mentor of younger scholars working in Berlin and as a collaborator on multifaceted projects.

Above all, Bill was a warm-hearted and cheerful man, with a lively sense of humor and a great talent for friendship. He enjoyed the company of friends and good food; he was an excellent cook. Brilliant though he was as a scholar, he knew that there is more to life than just papyrology. He was a complete person: an ὅλῳς ἀνὴρ, as Simonides might have said. His premature death was a cruel blow—to his mother, his sister, his brother, and his many friends who will mourn for him for a long time to come.

HERWIG MAEHLER

*London*

TIMOTHY RENNER

*Montclair State University*

## New Instrumental Music from Graeco-Roman Egypt

P.Mich. inv. 1205 (front)

9.9 cm x 10.3 cm

A.D. I-III

Plate 1

Provenance Unknown

Ancient witnesses to instrumental musical notation are exceedingly rare. Here is a list of all known examples:

### **1. Instrumental notes accompanying vocal scores:**

- P.Vindob. G2315 (*Orestes*). III B.C. (West #3.<sup>1</sup>) Three instrumental notes, one above the line, two in-line following a diastole, the former to mark, apparently, a drone note, the latter as an instrumental pickup for the next part of the melody.
- P.Vindob. G29825a-f. III B.C. (West #8.) Instrumental notes disposed exactly as above. Found together with the *Orestes* piece: further excerpts from the same manuscript, or from a matched set?
- P.Leiden inv. 510 (*Iphigeneia at Aulis*). III B.C. (West #4.) Very fragmentary and difficult to read, but perhaps a single instrumental note at line 10 is intended as a drone for the following line.<sup>2</sup>

### **2. Instrumental scores:**

- P.Vindob. G13763 & 1494. III B.C. (West #9.) Vocal music with instrumental interludes. Exiguous fragments, but instrumental pieces of, apparently, 2 lines in length survive in very partial form at G13763 lines 2-3 and G1494 lines 3-4.

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<sup>1</sup> Reference here is to what is presently the most complete catalogue of the musical documents: M.L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford 1992) 277-83 (catalogue proper) 283-326 (transcriptions).

<sup>2</sup> See T.J. Mathiesen, "New Fragments of Ancient Greek Music," *Acta Musicologica* 53 (1981) 23-32 for the best plate, with a helpful disegno. Mathiesen argues for a mix of vocal and instrumental notes throughout, but his interpretation here as elsewhere is unreliable. West, *op.cit.*, 286f assumes a single instrumental note. For further bibliography, *ibid.*, 278. The piece awaits adequate publication.

- P.Berol. inv. 6870. Late A.D. II or early III (West #40-44; the "Berlin papyrus" in what follows.) Vocal music alternating with instrumental interludes. Two instrumental pieces survive in 3 partial lines each.
- Elementary instrumental exercises, preserved in the *Anonymus Bellermanni*, probably deriving from the Roman era. (West #23-28.) Short but complete pieces, of no more than 4 short lines.

### 3. Vocal score written using instrumental notation:

- Limenius, Paean & processional. 127 B.C. (West #14.) Inscription in the Delphi Museum which records a choral work but uses instrumental notation. Substantial fragments, but not written for solo instrumental performance.

The surviving instrumental pieces, despite the paltry sample, are consistent in interesting, and suggestive, ways. The first group, of notes attending vocal scores, presents the simplest sort of instrumental accompaniment: a drone note, or at most a two-note melodic pickup (or simply a chord, if West is right in supposing that here the two reeds of the aulos pair diverge to blow a chord of a fourth<sup>3</sup>). A very simple, even primitive instrument (such as a five-hole aulos) would be sufficient for this sort of accompaniment. These examples, as it happens, are all from exceptionally old witnesses, though that may be coincidence. The second group, in contrast, not only ranges over time, from the Ptolemaic well into the Roman era, but distinguishes itself by a music that is considerably more demanding. The Ptolemaic piece, P.Vindob. G13763 + 1494, makes use of nine notes spanning the range of a twelfth among its small fragments. In the Berlin papyrus, the first instrumental piece (P.Berol. inv. 6870, lines 13-15) also spans a twelfth, and makes use of eleven notes; the second instrumental piece (lines 20-22), uses seven notes over the span of a seventh. Even the elementary exercises preserved in the *Anonymus Bellermanni* require an instrument that can range over a full octave. Pieces such as these are not likely to have been played on a five- or six-hole aulos, or even on a seven-stringed lyre.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 104, 207.

<sup>4</sup> The Limenius piece, which spans a diminished twelfth (using fourteen notes), I leave to one side since it is unclear what this choral piece implies about the instrumental accompaniment. Further in §5 below.

To this latter group add now P.Mich. inv. 1205, a Roman-era papyrus that offers, in its sadly meager extent, nonetheless one of the most extensive examples of ancient music written for solo instrument. The Michigan piece shares with other examples of instrumental scores the following characteristics: (1) the genus in all the scores is thoroughly diatonic; (2) the number of notes is surprisingly large—in the case of the Michigan papyrus, fully thirteen (represented by fourteen sigla); (3) the range is not only fairly large, but is interestingly consistent, for in the Michigan piece we once again find the ambit of a twelfth. A particularly intriguing aspect of our papyrus is that it provides, then, a confirming example of the sort of melody that seems to presuppose either a more complex instrument or a more virtuoso touch than is sometimes supposed for routine instrumental performance—a question to which we will return at the end (§5).

The Michigan piece is however musically complex in a way that is distinct from other examples. Other solo instrumental pieces pay strict regard to a single, simple scale, without modulation. P.Vindob. G13763 + 1494 makes use of the lower section of the Hypolydian *tonos*; the two instrumental pieces in the Berlin papyrus use the Hyperionian *tonos*; the exercises in the *Anonymus Bellermanni* use the lower section of the Lydian *tonos*. The melody in the Michigan papyrus, though built around the central section of the Lydian *tonos*, is constructed in a way that is not so straightforward, and seems to privilege the structure of the tetrachord over that of the "Perfect" systems that resemble modern keys (details in §4).<sup>5</sup> The melodic phrases preserved here are therefore musically interesting, in that they witness a profound dependence on tetrachordal structure, and shine a bright light on a sort of rich modulation between conjunct and disjunct tetrachords that we hear of in the theorists, but which has never before been so deeply exemplified.

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<sup>5</sup> For an explanation of the theoretical fundamentals of ancient music, see West, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) chapter 6 ("Scales and Modes") 160ff, and chapter 8 ("Theory") 218ff.



# §1 TRANSCRIPTION & COMMENTARY

P.Mich. inv. 1205 (see Plate 1) is one of a group of small fragments acquired by the Michigan Library in 1922 from the British Egyptologist Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie, and now inventoried as numbers 1202-1260 in the Michigan collection. The group shows no consistency (with dated pieces ranging from I B.C. to A.D. VII, and contents various, including a modern forgery), and thus offers no clue as to place or date. Our fragment, inventoried as "demotic?", languished until 1998, when Paul Heilporn recognized the piece as musical notation.

In the transcription below, + indicates musical notes that cannot be read; the same symbol, written above the note (e.g.  $\overset{+}{\eta}$ ), indicates that the presence or absence of a rhythmical symbol cannot be determined (whether by reason of lacuna or damage to the surface); and  $\square$  indicates a space of about a letter's width left blank. Writing runs along the fibers, on papyrus of apparently fair (not fine) grade. The back contains a text in demotic, written the other way up (further in §2).

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1  $\overset{+}{+}$  [ + ]  $\overset{+}{+}$   $\overset{+}{+}$  [

2  $\overset{+}{\eta}^?$   $\overset{+}{\eta}$   $\overset{+}{\cup}$   $\overset{+}{c}^?$  [ + + + + ]  $\overset{+}{\angle}$   $\overset{+}{\eta}$   $\overset{+}{+}$   $\overset{+}{+}$  [

3  $\overset{+}{k}$   $\overset{+}{\propto}$  :  $\overset{+}{\angle}^?$   $\overset{+}{+}$  [ + + ]  $\overset{+}{\cup}$   $\overset{+}{\eta}$   $\overset{+}{\angle}$   $\overset{+}{\square}$   $\overset{+}{\angle}$  [

4  $\overset{+}{\vee}$   $\overset{+}{+}$   $\overset{+}{\eta}$  N  $\overset{+}{+}$   $\overset{+}{\angle}$  Z  $\overset{+}{\sqcup}$   $\overset{+}{\square}$  : Z [

5  $\overset{+}{\cup}$   $\overset{+}{\angle}$   $\overset{+}{\eta}$   $\overset{+}{\eta}$   $\overset{+}{\cup}$   $\overset{+}{\cup}$  c F  $\overset{+}{p}$   $\overset{+}{\perp}$   $\overset{+}{\square}$  + [

*margin*

### Palaeography

Identification of the musical notes is mostly secure. Remarks on the few problematic notes follow.

- The character  $\eta$  (note reference #52<sup>6</sup>), in form here appearing more like a minuscule *eta* ( $\eta$ : 2.1-2, 6; 3.7, 4.3; 5.3-4), can be compared to what is clearly the same note in the Berlin papyrus (at *e.g.* the last line of the first instrumental piece, or the first line of the second; closest to that example is at 4.3 in our papyrus), where it is more obvious that the conception intends a backwards *nu* with a long tail. The same form of  $\eta$  also appears in two of the principal MSS of the *Anonymus Bellermanni* (A, B: *cf.* §80, 11.4 *app. crit.* Najock).
- Also more secure than might at first glance appear is the identification of  $\angle$  with instrumental note #40, which is usually transcribed as  $\prec$  (and so appears in the Berlin papyrus). One may be tempted to think of *zeta*, but the clear *zeta* at 4.7 & 11 renders that impossible. Once *zeta* is eliminated, instrumental note #40 recommends itself as follows. (1) The ductus certainly suggests  $\prec$ , with only a lower stroke that is more horizontal and a slight flourish at stroke's end. The elaborate tail seen at 3.10 is misleading, since the curl to the right is no more, I think, than the same carelessness in lifting the pen that we see in the lower point of dicolon at 4.10. The intended design of the lower part of the letter is seen at 2.5, 3.8, 4.6, 5.2 (less clearly at 3.4), an easy "cursive" development from  $\prec$ . (2) Musically, note #40 is *mesê* in the Lydian *tonos* that forms the principal framework for the piece (see §4). Even if the note were written in a considerably stranger form, the musical analysis would lead us to consider this central standing note. (3) A form of the note with a horizontal lower stroke is found in the *Anonymus Bellermanni* (*cf.* §80, 8.3 [MS B] and 9.9 [MS A] *app. crit.* Najock; *cf.* §77, 12.8 and 12.18 [MS C]); and several examples in the Berlin papyrus also tend towards a horizontal lower stroke.
- At 4.1 the writer forms  $\sim$  with curved arms and a slight flourish at stroke's end, similar in style to the treatment of  $\angle$ . The only plausible identification is instrumental note #41, which is also musically easy (see §4). A similar form for note #41 appears frequently in the B manuscript of the *Anonymus* (*cf.* §77 4.9, §80, 8.7, §81, 8.6-7 *app. crit.* Najock).

### Critical Apparatus:

**1.1-2** Small traces of ink. **1.3** Visible is the bottom of a long tail, consistent with  $\mu$ ,  $\eta$  among the extant notes in this hand. **2.1** A small, broken piece of papyrus, probably belonging to the lacuna immediately below, obscures at upper left. With that piece disregarded, ink traces above the lacuna (parts of top left vertical, cross stroke, top right vertical) are consistent with the upper half of  $\eta$ .

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<sup>6</sup> On these reference numbers, see n. 15.

Below the lacuna, ink specks are visible exactly where the tail should be (mostly rubbed away). The reading remains, however, only probable. **2.4** Remains of the top left of a rounded stroke, consistent with  $c$ , which is moreover the only rounded instrumental note at all musically plausible; and for the note sequence  $\eta \cup c$  cf. 5.4-7. But the possibility of an unexpected siglum or form cannot be discounted: the scanty remains certainly urge caution. **2.7** Visible is a slightly bowed horizontal stroke which begins very near the baseline; and the tip of a tail or slanting vertical underneath. None of the instrumental notes seems a satisfactory identification. Better possibilities seem to lie outside the musical notes proper: diastole,  $\gamma$ , as in P.Vindob. G2315 (*Orestes*). and P.Vindob. G29825a-f (where however the diastole is used to mark off the Greek poetic text from instrumental notes written in-line; what the meaning would be here is not obvious); or leimma,  $\alpha$ , of the lopsided form exemplified in line 14 (first instrumental piece, line 2) of the Berlin papyrus. **2.8** Visible is the bottom of a long tail, similar among extant notes to  $\mu$ ,  $\eta$ , but slanting more to the left. **3.1** Ductus is clearly *kappa*, though visually confused by the presence of a largish ink blob at left (for a similar problem with ink flow, cf. just a few notes later at 3.6). **3.4** Almost certainly the same letter shape as at 3.8, which I identify with 2.5, 3.10, 4.6, 5.2. **3.5** The surviving speck of ink appears to be the bottom of a vertical. **3.10** See just above, under "Palaeography." **4.1** The full note survives, apart from a slight rubbing at the base: there are no signs of ink in the gap below. **4.2** Above the letter a speck of ink at the expected height for an arsis dot. **4.10** The slight extension of the lower dot of the dicolon is characteristic of the way the writer lifts his pen from the page: cf. the tail at 3.10. **5.2** The area where one might expect an arsis dot has lost most of the upper surface. **5.5** I use brackets to indicate how very uncertain is the possible diseme. All that remains above the letter are two specks of ink, placed as though at the left and right extremities of a diseme (not therefore the remains of an arsis dot); the rest of the surface in this area is rubbed or missing. **5.6** No serious question as to the identity of the note: for the 2-stroke ductus, compare 3.6. **5.11** A blank space of 0.5 cm follows 5.10; at right is a lone speck of ink just where the papyrus breaks off. Thus it is not certain whether the blank space marks the end of the piece.

Using the conventional equivalents for the notes (about a minor third too high from what musicologists now reconstruct as the actual pitch<sup>7</sup>), the papyrus translates roughly as follows into modern staff notation:

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<sup>7</sup> West, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 273-6.



An approximate rendition on oboe can be heard by locating the papyrus at the Michigan collection's web site (direct URL presently <http://classics.uc.edu/music/michigan>).

## §2 PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

*dimensions:* 9.9 cm x 10.3 cm

*column:* >8.0 cm x >5.0 cm

*column slope:* tilts backwards 4° (in violation of "Maas' Law")

*upper margin:* not extant

*lower margin:* 5.3 cm, apparently complete

*letter height:* 0.30 cm - 0.35 cm

*letter width:* 0.69 cm (average)

*leading margin:* about 1.2 cm

*kollêsis:* at 1.7 cm from left edge at l. 2

*disposition:* written along the fibers;  
on the back is a demotic text,  
written the other way up

The musical notes are written along the fibers, presumably then on the front of the roll. The notes are widely spaced, and written in the careful manner of a book hand. The writer is experienced and comfortable but has the sort of problems with ink control (3.1, 3.6, 4.10) and consistent letter formation (3.1; 3.10, cf. 4.6; 5.3, cf. 5.4) associated with private hands. The fact that the column tilts strongly backwards—very rare in well-written rolls<sup>8</sup>—also suggests a private production.

Visible at roughly two notes into the column of writing is the edge of a 4-layer *kollêsis* with an unusual orientation. The sheet at left, which overlaps the papyrus to the right, is rotated 90° such that the fibers run vertically. Enough survives at left to make clear that this is not a patch or reinforcement to the *kollêsis*, but a sheet of papyrus glued on at right angles. Students of the ancient book roll will recognize this as (probably) a *prôtokollon*, that first sheet glued to the front of a papyrus roll as a sort of cap; the vertically-running fibers of the *prôtokollon* help prevent fraying at the heavily-used left edge of the roll.<sup>9</sup> Our fragment appears then to be from the first column of a roll, though the roll need not have had much extent.

The fragmentary lines extend to a length of over 8 cm. Such a length is at the outer extreme for the width of a justified column in a formal—as opposed to a privately produced—literary roll. But the line lengths of the musical papyri tend to be exceptionally long—commonly 15 cm or more for vocal pieces—and the parts of the lines missing at the right may therefore be substantial. The margin at the foot of the column is in accord with the norm for a book roll, and encourages further the conclusion that the fragment is from the front of an actual roll (rather than, say, a scrap cut to the purpose). If it comes from a roll of full height (usually 25-32 cm), and assuming an upper margin similar in size to the foot (5.3 cm), then perhaps 7-13 lines are missing from the top of the column. But what precedes and follows need not be simply instrumental music. The other instrumental scores to survive on papyrus (the

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<sup>8</sup> W. A. Johnson, *The Literary Papyrus Roll: Formats and Conventions. An Analysis of the Evidence from Oxyrhynchus* (diss. Yale University 1992) 222ff.

<sup>9</sup> On the *prôtokollon*, see E.G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso: The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll*. Pap.Brux. 16. *Actes du XVe congrès international de papyrologie*. (Bruxelles 1978) 20-2.

Berlin papyrus and P.Vindob. G13763 + 1494) are within collections of excerpts, in which instrumental and vocal music alternate.<sup>10</sup>

I have argued elsewhere that, for texts with vocal notation, the notes in the musical papyri are usually written by the musician himself, and that the texts are formatted in exceptionally wide columns so as to facilitate using the roll as a musical script from which to play or sing.<sup>11</sup> The appearance here—given the private hand and wide column—accords with (though does not demand) this scenario.

On the back are the remains of a demotic text, written the other way up (as we would expect if this is the beginning of a roll). I am grateful to Willy Clarysse for having examined the demotic text. He writes:

The demotic is clearly written with a Greek *kalamos*, not with an Egyptian rush, which dates it conventionally to the Roman rather than to the Ptolemaic period. I think it is a kind of account, with words in the first column and figures in the second column. Some of the words are clearly Greek, as they are written with the alphabetical signs used for foreign words and at least one of them has a foreigner determinative. But I cannot decipher or understand any of these words (*per litteras*, June 8, 1999).

Thus whoever reused the papyrus was a speaker of Egyptian, perhaps bilingual, whose commercial affairs contacted the Greek-speaking community. The relation of this person to the musician who wrote the score on the front may of course have been indirect; but it would not be a surprise to find a musician with one foot in the Egyptian, and the other in the Greek community—the "worldwide" musical guilds of the Roman era remained "Greek" despite increased localization in the eastern Mediterranean and Egypt.<sup>12</sup> In any case, since papyri with instrumental notation are so very rare,

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<sup>10</sup> For the format of literary rolls, see Johnson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) 167-77, 246, 253-8 (on line lengths in literary rolls); 193-201, 294-8 (margins); 202-3, 296-8 (roll heights); 195-6, 293 (on relative size of top and bottom margins). For the format of the musical papyri, see W.A. Johnson, "Musical Evenings in the Early Empire: New Evidence from a Greek Papyrus with Musical Notation," *JHS* (forthcoming 2000) §2.2 (on line lengths); introduction (on musical papyri as excerpts).

<sup>11</sup> Johnson 2000 (above, n. 10) §2.2.

<sup>12</sup> See F. Poland, "Technitai," *RE V A* 2473-2558, esp. 2493-4, 2521.



Dicolon (:) is used twice (3.3, 4.10), but unfortunately both times shortly before a lacuna. The dicolon is deployed in the musical papyri as a mark meant to group what follows, or to separate what precedes. The remains at line 3 give a clue as to the exact meaning here. There, the dicolon follows what appears to be the latter two notes of the regular three-beat measure (3.1-2, both marked with arsis dots), and precedes four lacunose notes before the three-beat pattern picks up again at 3.6-8. The four notes comprise then a measure, but why four notes rather than three? In the vocal musical papyri dicolon and hyphen are both used to group multiple notes to a single syllable, but dicolon seems preferred when two notes attend a single short syllable.<sup>14</sup> That explanation would cleanly account for the four-note sequence following the dicolon here. That is, at 3.4ff we find four notes to the measure because the dicolon resolves the first two notes to a single beat:



(A similar analysis of dicolon may help resolve a problem in the rhythmization of the second instrumental piece in the Berlin papyrus, on which see the Appendix.)

#### §4 MELODIC NOTATION

The melody makes use of the following notes:

⊥	ρ	F	C	υ	K	⋈	∠	∨	□	⊐	N	Z	η	
20	25	28	31	32	34	35	40	41	43	44	46	49	52	[reference number <sup>15</sup> ]
e <sup>b</sup>	f	g	a	b <sup>b</sup>	b	c'	d'	e <sup>b</sup>	e'	f'	f'	g'	a'	[modern equivalent]
1	1	1	2	5	1	1	6	1	2	1	1	2	7	[frequency count]

<sup>14</sup> Details in Johnson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 10) §3.2.2.

<sup>15</sup> Reference numbers are those associated by modern editors with the list of symbols in Aristides Quintilianus: see A. Barker, *Greek Musical Writings II: Harmonic and Acoustic Theory* (Cambridge 1989) 427-9; similarly West, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 256. Reference numbers in E. Pöhlmann, *Denkmäler altgriechischer Musik* (Nuremberg 1970) 144 and J. Chailley, *La Musique grecque antique* (Paris 1979) 185 are off by three since the lowest three symbols are excluded as late additions to the system. That this exclusion was rash is now shown by the existence on papyrus of one of the excluded notes: see Johnson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 10) §3.1.



The scale is diatonic, as we expect for music of the Roman era: there is no trace of the chromatic or enharmonic genus. Characteristic of the composition is a fairly strong tendency to favor larger intervals of a seventh (**2.2-3**, **3.6-7**, **5.1-3**, **5.4-5**) and a fifth (**2.5-6**, **3.7-8**, **4.3-6**, **5.2-3**). Certain prominent notes seem to ground the composition, namely,  $\eta$  = #52,  $\angle$  = #40, and  $\upsilon$  = #32; not surprisingly, the latter two are a fifth and a seventh from the first.

The notation key centers around the Lydian, but to describe the scalar movement in terms of the "Perfect" System of ancient theorists seems singularly unhelpful. For in terms of that system, line 2 begins in the Lydian *tonos* (disjunct); line 3 picks up in Hypolydian, but modulates quickly to Lydian (disjunct); line 4 modulates between the conjunct and disjunct arms of the central part of the Lydian *tonos* (i.e. Hyperlydian modulating to Lydian); line 5 starts in Lydian (disjunct) but shifts to Hypophrygian at the very end. Interestingly, the scale seems more intelligible when conceived in terms of movement among related tetrachords. The scale centers around the central disjunct tetrachords of the Lydian *tonos* (*hypatê mesôn* to *nêtê diezeugmenôn* in the Greater Perfect System):

$\varsigma$	$\upsilon$	[7]	$\angle$	$\sqcap$	$\sqcup$	$\zeta$	$\eta$	
<b>31</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>52</b>	[standing notes in boldface]
<i>a</i>	<i>b<math>\flat</math></i>	<i>c'</i>	<i>d'</i>	<i>e'</i>	<i>f'</i>	<i>g'</i>	<i>a'</i>	[disjunct tetrachords]
S T T			T	S T T				[Tone or Semitone interval]

The melody moves down or up from the central standing notes, *paramesê* ( $\sqcap$  = #43) and *mesê* ( $\angle$  = #40), by adding a conjunct tetrachord. Thus at the start of line 3, the melody works down, in conjunct fashion, from *paramesê* ( $\sqcap$  = #43):

$\kappa$	$\propto$	$\angle$	$\sqcap$	$\sqcup$	$\zeta$	$\eta$	
<b>34</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>52</b>	
<i>b</i>	<i>c'</i>	<i>d'</i>	<i>e'</i>	<i>f'</i>	<i>g'</i>	<i>a'</i>	[conjunct tetrachords]
S T T			S T T				

The modulation in line 3 is, then, between the conjunct tetrachord (early in the line) and the disjunct tetrachord (later in the line) that work down the scale from standing note  $\sqcap$  = #43. In line 4, on the other hand, the melody works up, in conjunct fashion, from *mesê* ( $\angle$  = #40):

c	υ	[7]	∠	∨	N	z
31	32	37	40	41	46	49
q	b $\flat$	c'	d'	e' $\flat$	f'	g'
[conjunct tetrachords]						
S	T	T	S	T	T	

The modulation in line 4 is between the conjunct tetrachord (early) and the disjunct tetrachord (later) that attach upwards from standing note  $\angle = \#40$ . That the composer is thinking in these terms is evident from the use of  $\varphi$  (a sharpening for the standing note  $\kappa = b$ ) for  $c'$  in line 3, and from the use of  $N$  for  $f'$  in line 4 (*cf.* the use of  $\sqcup$ , a sharpening of  $\sqsubset = e'$  for the same note elsewhere).

The modulation at the end can also be seen as an easy movement from one of the central Lydian tetrachords. In this case, the scale begins at the base of the lower tetrachord (*hypatê mesôn*), and moves downward, adding a tetrachord in disjunct fashion:

[┌]	⊥	ρ	F	c	υ	[7]	∠
19	20	25	28	31	32	37	40
d	e $\flat$	f	g	b $\flat$	c'	d'	e'
[disjunct tetrachords]							
S	T	T	T	S	T	T	

The scale, then, though centrally and essentially "Lydian," is conceived less as a linear or bilinear scale and more as five intimately related tetrachords. This is not quite expected, but is not irrational either, at least for a musician accustomed to thinking in terms of tetrachords. Most of the musical documents make use of one notional scale, or modulate between two. But we do know from ancient theorists that the practice of modulating between conjunct and disjunct tetrachords was common enough to be given its own name ("circular") as one of the standard "consecutive" movements on a scale.<sup>16</sup> The theorists conceive of this circular movement as one that proceeds (from *mesê*), upwards in conjunction, and downwards in disjunction (from the Lesser to the Greater Perfect System, in their terminology), and that is close to what happens in line 4 of our papyrus. But judging from the papyrus, this movement—now in

<sup>16</sup> Cleonides 15 Menge (205); Aristides Quintilianus 1.9(16) 1.12(29); Ptolemy *Harm.* 2.6; and see Barker 1989, 329 n. 46, 415 n. 93, 418 n. 107. Further at Johnson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 10) §3.1, esp. n. 29.

conjunction, and now in disjunction, from a central standing note—could become considerably more pervasive.

## §5 INSTRUMENT & PERFORMANCE

Consideration of instrumental performance without vocal accompaniment leads quickly to a narrow set of possibilities. Although other instruments are sometimes mentioned in what appear to be solo contexts, by far the commonest choices for solo competition or display are kithara (the category of lyre used for performance) and aulos, joined at a distant third by the harp in the Roman era.<sup>17</sup> The same instruments appertain if we imagine the music in the Michigan papyrus intended as accompaniment to dance.<sup>18</sup>

The kithara is famously a seven-stringed instrument, but our piece makes use of (at least) 13 notes. Timotheus is said, however, to have added a tetrachord to the heptachord (thus a kithara of 11 strings), and there seems ample evidence that kitharai with up to 12 strings were common from at least the late classical period.<sup>19</sup> In later times, further elaboration seems possible, though the evidence is slim: Nicomachus mentions a lyre with 18 strings, and a grave stele depicts one with 19.<sup>20</sup> The number of strings is important, for there seems a growing consensus that the strings of the kithara were not regularly stopped (in the manner of a violin or guitar) so as to change the note produced.<sup>21</sup> Typically, the right hand of the kitharist strummed the strings with a plectrum; the left hand,

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<sup>17</sup> West, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 379-80.

<sup>18</sup> Illustrative is the evidence of a papyrus document of A.D. II-III (P.Mich. inv. 4682) that gives rules for instrumental musical contests (see Orsamus Pearl, "Rules for Musical Contests," *ICS* 3 [1978] 132-9). Mentioned are only aulos and kithara (though the document is fragmentary); and the rules specify two categories of contestant: "cyclical auletes" and "cyclical kitharists" (i.e. those who accompany dancers), contrasted with "Pythian auletes" and "Pythian kitharists" (solo performers using special instruments: see West, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 93, 69-70).

<sup>19</sup> Doubts expressed by Martha Maas and Jane McIntosh Snyder, *Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece* (Yale 1989) 62-3, 203 are not convincing; see evidence in West, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 62-4.

<sup>20</sup> West, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 62, 379.

<sup>21</sup> On playing technique, see *ibid.*, 64-70; Maas & Snyder, *op.cit.* (above, n. 19) 63-4, 200-1.

which could move in only a limited way, alternately cooperated with the strumming, by damping or pulling out of the way strings not meant to sound, and supplemented the strumming, by plucking the melody line. In vocal accompaniment, the kitharode probably accented the melody by plucking, and used strumming to mark pauses. The solo kitharist may have proceeded in a similar manner, with alteration of plucking and strumming, but the occasional use among solo kitharists of a specialized "Pythian" kithara known also by the name *daktylikon* seems to imply a mode of playing that focused more exclusively on plucking (perhaps, as West suggests, using all ten fingers).<sup>22</sup> In any case, the widely-held view that the kithara (or aulos, for that matter) sounded each note of the vocal melody is more troublesome than often credited: for several of the vocal pieces that survive require more notes than an 11- or even 12-stringed kithara could likely play. One of the surviving Delphic hymns, that by Limenius, is inscribed in instrumental musical notation in deference to Limenius' fame as a kitharist. But this very hymn requires fully 14 notes, that is, 14 strings on a kithara, to follow the melody line. Similarly, the Delphic hymn by Athenaeus (West #12) requires 14 notes; and the Yale musical papyrus (CtYBR inv. 4510),<sup>23</sup> with 15 notes (and a range of over 2 octaves), presents a similar problem. Either the post-classical kithara commonly had more strings than we usually assume; or the coincidence between vocal and instrumental melody was not exact; or our understanding of playing technique is insufficient. If the Michigan papyrus was in fact played on a kithara, the kithara would have required at least 13 strings, and probably more. Moreover, the instrument would have needed a scale of mostly semitone steps—which surprises, but would also have to be the case if the kitharist's pluckings were to match the vocal melody on many of the vocal pieces that survive.

Harps, on the other hand, seem to have been endowed with no lack of strings from early on. Anacreon (*PMG* fr. 374) speaks of a *magadis* of twenty strings, and artistic depictions confirm similar numbers.<sup>24</sup> It is sometimes assumed that these twenty strings would represent a diatonic scale, and thus span three octaves or

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<sup>22</sup> West, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 60-1, 70.

<sup>23</sup> Johnson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 10).

<sup>24</sup> West, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 73.

more.<sup>25</sup> But if a harpist were to play the music on the Michigan papyrus, the player would need to have access (at least for the center section of the scale) to most of the semitones, in order to effect the modulations. A fully chromatic scale over just a twelfth would require 18 strings. But harpists, though they enjoyed occasional vogue in later times, were never nearly so common as kitharists and auletes.<sup>26</sup>

What then of the aulos? A melody of 13 notes spanning a twelfth is unlikely to have been played on simple auloi of four or five or six holes. We can imagine that playing techniques, such as partial obturation of the fingerholes, might make up the additional semitone steps,<sup>27</sup> but the range (see line 5) will remain a problem. From literary sources, elaboration of the simple aulos is known from early times, and, as it happens, we have from Pompeii four well-preserved auloi that make clear how an elaborated aulos of the Roman era functioned.<sup>28</sup> All four of these exhibit both a large number of fingerholes (from 10 to 15), and metal bands with matching holes which the performer can rotate so as to open or close individual holes at will, thus permitting a diversity of scales. The most elaborate of the Pompeian auloi (inv. 76894), with 15 fingerholes, arrests our attention: the range approximates a twelfth, and the spacing seems to imply semitone steps for the lower 12 holes, tones

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 379-80. The harp is usually neglected in ancient writings about music: in a typical passage, the author of the *Anonymus Bellermannii* (§28 Najock) lists the *harmoniai* appropriate to kitharode and aulete (among which is Lydian, for both), and includes even the player of a water organ, but the harpist is not mentioned.

<sup>27</sup> See Kathleen Schlesinger, *The Greek Aulos* (London 1939) 72ff; a practical example in Albert A. Howard, "The Αὐλός or Tibia," *HSCP* 4 (1893) 57.

<sup>28</sup> Details in Howard, *ibid.*, 6, 47-55; Schlesinger, *ibid.*, 74; Richard J. Letters, "The Scales of Some Surviving ΑΥΛΟΙ," *CQ* 19 (1969) 266-8. Auloi with as many as 24 fingerholes are known: Schlesinger, *op.cit.*, 75. In what follows, I ignore playing on the harmonics (overblowing), since, though Howard, *ibid.*, 30-2 is surely right to insist that the ancients would have discovered this playing technique, none of the surviving melodies suggests the use of overblowing. (If Howard is right that the cylindrical bore takes on the characteristics of a stopped pipe, then the harmonics begin at a twelfth from the lowest fundamental; since none of the instrumental pieces demand more than a twelfth, the harmonics do not come into play.) Discussion of the problem at West, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 101-3.

(or  $3/4$  tones) for the upper three.<sup>29</sup> That is, one can play on this instrument a full chromatic scale, excepting the three top notes—very close to what is needed for the melody here.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, Howard's reconstruction of this pipe resulted in an estimated scale from *d* to *g'*, only one tone away from the scale of the Michigan papyrus. (In absolute rather than conventional pitch, the scale here starts at about *c*.) If such an instrument were played as a *monaulos* (and thus eight fingers were available), lines 2-4 of our melody could be played if one of the note holes unused in lines 2-3 (corresponding to note #49, 44/46, or 41) were closed for those lines, and then opened for line 4; then in line 5, the bands would need to be rotated so as to close four holes (e.g. the adjacent holes for notes #49, 44/46, 43, 41). The fact of hook-like projections (the κέρας or βόμβυξ),<sup>31</sup> apparently designed to facilitate the quick rotation of the bands, implies the capacity for adjustment during performance, as would be necessary here.

Whichever the exact instrument, our discussion has by now made amply clear that it was not a simple one: it spanned a twelfth, was capable of sounding at least 13 notes (and probably more), and could be "tuned" to a rather exotic mix of related tetrachords. These characteristics, in accordance with the complexity of the frequent

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<sup>29</sup> Howard, *ibid.*, 52, using his reconstruction of the Pompian aulos and a clarinet reed, discovers 12 semitone intervals followed by three tones. Letters 1969, 268, calculating on the basis of the physical intervals (and assuming that holes 1 to 13 forms an octave), in the main confirms Howard's reconstruction, but finds intervals approximating  $3/4$  tone for the two highest notes, for a total range closer to an eleventh. But none of the work on the scales of surviving auloi can be more than approximate, given our lack of detailed knowledge about mouthpieces and performance techniques. For discussion of the parameters, see West, *ibid.*, 94ff.

<sup>30</sup> The physics of the pipe makes semitone intervals at the top of the range difficult, given the size of bore and hole used in the Pompeii aulos. The holes at the top are close enough that with an intervening hole the fingers would be too crowded (the topmost intervals are 20, then 27 mm (Letters 1969, 268), whereas a finger width requires roughly 15 mm). I have been tempted to see in this physical awkwardness an explanation for the interval of a full tone at the top range of the scale used for the melody in the Michigan papyrus. But the same tendency to full tones is seen at the lower part of the scale, and I think the tetrachordal structures (see §4) are in fact what occasions this.

<sup>31</sup> Known from ancient testimony and artistic depictions: Howard, *op.cit.* (above, n. 27) 7-8.



(1) The arsis dot in the sequence  $z\dot{\gamma}\dot{z}$  is written over the final note, thus leaving the first note unmarked—as though to signal the downbeat. (That this belated dot does not intend to signal upbeat for the whole group can be seen by comparing the similar sequence  $\dot{\gamma}\dot{\gamma}$  in the first and third lines of the first instrumental piece (P.Berol. 6870 lines 13, 15), where the expected arsis dot resides over the first note.)

(2) The two notes immediately preceding  $z\dot{\gamma}\dot{z}$  and following the second dicolon are interpreted by West (and Pöhlmann) as though the arsis dot resides over  $\kappa$ , and the next note,  $\eta$ , is therefore taken as the downbeat. But in fact these two notes are spaced closely together, and the arsis dot is written not above  $\kappa$ , but in between the pair (similar to the position for pairs grouped by hyphen earlier and later in the line).

(3) The writer elsewhere begins each new line of instrumental music at the same point in the rhythm—at the downbeat that marks, so to speak, the beginning of a new "measure." This is true for the other lines of the second instrumental piece; and is also true of the first instrumental piece (excepting the very beginning, which is deliberately anomalous in the fashion characteristic of a paeon).<sup>35</sup>

I propose to read both dicolons in the second instrumental piece of the Berlin papyrus as meaning "take the next two notes together to the indicated beat." The first dicolon helps make clear that the next two notes, marked by diseme, are a 2-beat unit (that is, quarter notes in a 5/4 tempo, with the second note modified to a dotted quarter note by the following *leimma*); the second dicolon groups the following two notes (in arsis) as a single-beat unit (that is, as eighth notes in a 5/4 tempo); and the group  $z\dot{\gamma}\dot{z}$  marks the beginning (first downbeat) of the second bar. Under this interpretation the line

:  $\overline{\square}$  \  $\dot{\gamma}$  :  $\kappa$   $\dot{\eta}$      $z\dot{\gamma}\dot{z}$   $\dot{\eta}$  \  $\square$   $\dot{\gamma}$      $\square$  |

begins, like the other lines, at the start of a measure, and has the rhythm:

$\text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩} | \text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩} | \text{♩}$   
 $\text{>} \quad \text{>} \quad \text{>} \quad \text{>} \quad \text{>}$

<sup>35</sup> Interestingly, in the first instrumental piece the writer starts each line with a downbeat which in the metrical schema would be the *last* syllable of the metrical form—indicating, it seems, a preference for taking the downbeat first in the measure (despite the rhythmization of the vocal paeon, and the consequent division of measures in the transcriptions of the first instrumental piece in Pöhlmann, *op.cit.* [above, n. 15] 98 and West, *op.cit.* [above, n. 1] 319). The vocal parts of the Berlin papyrus are not organized according to the principle of beginning with a new measure, since the words, written in wide justified columns, determine the layout.



By this analysis dicolon and hyphen have redundant functionality (*cf.* the pair grouped by hyphen,  $\underline{\vee}$ , later in the line; or, with diseme,  $\overline{\vee}$  in the first instrumental piece, line 15)—but that is a well-known, and intractable, problem.<sup>36</sup>

It must be admitted, however, that in the first instrumental piece (lines 13, 15), dicolon seems intended to group the following two notes as the down-beat—as, in effect, a mark of phrasing—and without apparent consequence for the quantity of the notes. That is, there the two notes that follow dicolon must be taken as one beat apiece, even though no diseme is written. Perhaps with arsis and thesis marked the quantity seemed obvious to the musician, given the more simple 4/4 measure; or it may be, as West prefers,<sup>37</sup> that the dicolon is used here to separate off the *kompismos* group ( $\langle \uparrow \rangle$ ) that precedes.

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<sup>36</sup> More detail at Johnson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 10) §3.2.2.

<sup>37</sup> West, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 268.

(to Johnson, "New Instrumental Music")

Plate 1



P.Mich. inv. 1205

(Photograph digitally reproduced with the permission of the  
Papyrology Collection, The University of Michigan Library )

## An Early Coptic Witness to the *Dormitio Mariae* at Yale

P.CtYBR inv. 1788 Revisited

P.CtYBR inv. 1788

35.00 cm x 13.1 cm

IX C.E.

Plates 2-5

Provenance Unknown

A Coptic version of the *Dormition of Mary* preserved in fragments in the Beinecke Library at Yale provides us with valuable new information about the emergence of this tale in Christian antiquity.<sup>1</sup> To judge from its widespread testimony in many languages and pious media,<sup>2</sup> the story of the Virgin Mary's departure from

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<sup>1</sup> First published by L.S.B. MacCoull, "More Coptic Papyri from the Beinecke Collection," *APF* 35 (1989) 25-35, with Pl. 4. Dr. MacCoull edited the papyrus in its state as acquired by the Beinecke from H.P. Kraus in 1961, and translated some of its phrases, but when it was conserved at the Library in the 1980's the fragments were connected in quite a different sequence. That rearrangement, along with more than forty new and corrected readings in my autoscapy of the manuscript in 1992, gave occasion for this re-edition. My thanks to Prof. Stephen Emmel (then on the staff of the Beinecke) for drawing the text to my attention and for his comments on its conservation, as well as to Dr. Robert Babcock, the Library's Curator of Manuscripts and Incunabula, for permission to publish the photographs.

<sup>2</sup> The major editions are as follows: for the Syriac, W. Wright, *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament: Collected and Edited from Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London 1865) 18-51; *id.*, "The Departure of My Lady Mary from the World," *Journal of Sacred Literature* 6 (1865) 417-48; 7 (1865) 110-60; for the Greek: K. von Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae* (Leipzig 1866; repr. Hildesheim 1966) xxxiv-xlvi, 95-112; A. Wenger, *L'Assomption de la T. S. Vierge dans la tradition byzantine*. Archives de l'Orient chrétien 5 (Paris 1955); for the Latin: K. von Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, 124-36; A. Wilmart, *Analecta Reginensia: Extraits des manuscrits latins de la reine Cristina conservée au Vatican*. Studi e testi 59 (Vatican City 1933) 323-62; M. Haibach-Reinisch, *Ein neuer 'Transitus Mariae' des Pseudo-Melito* (Rome 1962); for the Coptic: F. Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*. Texts and Studies

mortal into heavenly life, untouched by fleshly corruption, had special power for ancient and medieval believers. Reading, hearing, or viewing the narrative of Mary's passage, as she confronted the hazards and terrors of death, allowed the pious a glimpse of their own hope of future resurrection, and, just as important, accounted for the early arrival and presence of the Theotokos in heaven, ready to hear their pleas and intercede with her Son on their behalf. To be fully human, it seems, the Virgin must face death, yet since she is God's Mother, the encounter must leave her unmolested in body and soul.

We first catch sight of the story of Mary's dormition in the late antique Near East. Like other "apocryphal" legends that were left open or unprotected by their exclusion from the canon of Scripture, the basic narrative displayed many variations in color and detail as it was transmitted and translated into various languages, paraphrased and summarized in homilies, or represented in the visual arts.<sup>3</sup> Despite this wealth of variety across the separate accounts, however, the story consistently follows a basic structure. After the departure of Jesus, Mary has lived in the care of John, Jesus' most

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4.2 (Cambridge 1896); for the Georgian: M. van Esbroeck, "Apocryphes géorgiens de la Dormition," *Analecta Bollandiana* 92 (1972) 55-75; for the Gaelic: C. Donahue, *The Testament of Mary: The Gaelic Version of the Dormitio Mariae* (New York 1942); for the Ethiopic: V. Arras, *De transitu Mariae aethiopice*. CSCO 342/43 (Louvain 1973). For discussion, additional references, and selected translations, see J.K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford 1994) 691-723.

<sup>3</sup> For further discussion see M. Jugie, *La mort et l'Assomption de la sainte Vierge*. Studi e testi 114 (Vatican City 1944); A. van Lantschoot, "L'Assomption de la sainte Vierge chez les Coptes," *Gregorianum* 27 (1946) 493-525; M. Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York 1976) 81-102; van Esbroeck, "Les textes littéraires sur l'Assomption avant le x<sup>e</sup> siècle," in F. Bovon (ed.), *Les Actes apocryphes des Apôtres: christianisme et monde païen* (Geneva 1981) 265-85 = van Esbroeck, *Aux origines de la Dormition de la Vierge: Études historiques sur les traditions orientales* (Aldershot 1995) chap. I; E. Testa, "L'origine e lo sviluppo della Dormitio Mariae," *Augustinianum* 23 (1983) 250-62; S.-C. Mimouni, *Dormition et Assomption de Marie: histoire des traditions anciennes* (Paris 1995); J. Pelikan, *Mary through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven 1996) 201-13; S.J. Shoemaker, *Mary and the Discourse of Orthodoxy: Early Christian Identity and the Ancient Dormition Legends* (Ph.D. diss., Duke University 1997); B.E. Daley, *On the Dormition of Mary: Early Patristic Homilies* (Crestwood, NY 1998); M. Clayton, "The Transitus Mariae: The Tradition and Its Origins," *Apocrypha* 10 (1999) 74-98.

beloved disciple and apostle, residing at her house in either Jerusalem or Bethlehem.<sup>4</sup> When the Virgin approaches her time of death, she is troubled by anxieties about death and the afterlife, worries brought on in part by threats of punishment and damnation she has heard in sermons preached by her son and his apostles.<sup>5</sup> Many narratives of the dormition also describe threats of violence against her from the Jewish leaders of Jerusalem.

As death draws near, Mary is attended and supported by various saints and spiritual powers who dwell on the other side of the divide separating mortality from immortality: the risen Jesus, his apostles, and a choir of angels. Also present, frequently, is a small company of female virgins who have been receiving instruction from Mary in holy deportment. In most versions the apostles depart from their mission fields or rise temporarily from their individual graves and journey miraculously to Mary's side for this occasion; often these journeys are described in considerable and repetitious detail. Dialogue ensues between the Virgin and the apostles (especially John), between the Virgin and Christ, and then finally between Christ and the apostles. Sometimes Peter preaches a sermon about death and the afterlife; often Mary or the apostles may be given tours of Paradise or Gehenna. Mary's moment of departure is told with the greatest variation: in some versions she actually dies, is buried, and then is raised, often on the third day; in other tellings her body dies, but her soul is given to St. Michael the Archangel or is taken directly to heaven by Christ. In still other traditions both her body and soul ascend with the angels without any (ordinary) death described: thus her assumption.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Stories of John's care of Mary begin with *Gospel of John* 19: 26-27. The tradition of the Virgin's residence and dormition in Ephesus begins somewhat later. For the church-political implications of the contested site of Mary's retirement, death, burial, and the fate of her burial remains, see V. Limberis, *Divine Heiress: The Virgin Mary and the Creation of Christian Constantinople* (London 1994) especially 47-61.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. e.g. Mary's expressions of concern in the Bohairic *Instruction of Evodius* 9 (Robinson, *op.cit.* [above, n. 2] 56); the *Discourse of Theodosius* 2 (*ibid.* 94-7); the Ps.-Melito *Transitus Mariae* 3, 8 (Elliott, *op.cit.* [above, n. 2] 709, 711); or the Gaelic *Testament of Mary* 2, 6 (Donahue, *op.cit.* [above, n. 2] 29-33).

<sup>6</sup> See further Jugie, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3); Mimouni, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3); Shoemaker, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 109-11. Clayton, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3).

The story of the dormition (called the *koimesis* in Byzantine Christianity) is well attested in patristic and medieval homilies and is widely represented in the visual arts. This picture also fits the main features of the Coptic tradition of the Virgin's dormition, except that, for Egyptian Christians, Mary's death was physically real, and her bodily assumption into heaven was not ordinarily described alongside the dormition itself. Unlike the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic celebrations of Mary's dormition and assumption on August 15<sup>th</sup>, the two events remained separate in Coptic feasts celebrated 206 days apart.<sup>7</sup> In the middle of the sixth century, the Alexandrian patriarch Theodosius oversaw the transformation of an earlier, less narrowly defined commemoration of Mary into a feast of her death on 21 Tobe (January 16<sup>th</sup> in the Julian calendar), and also "created a special solemnity of her bodily resurrection and glorious assumption" on 16 Mesore (August 9<sup>th</sup>).<sup>8</sup> But whatever the variations, Mary's departure describes a foreshortened pattern of her son's passion: death, ascension of the soul, and (eventual?) resurrection of the body, with a glimpse of the believer's future as well.

Though many aspects of the legend's origins remain obscure, it seems that tales of Mary's dormition began to be told in the mid- or late fifth century, "in consequence of the stimulus given Marian devotion by the definition of the divine maternity at Ephesus. The pe-

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<sup>7</sup> "This is the end of the life of the Lady of us all, the holy God-bearer Mary, on the twenty-first of Tobi and her assumption on the sixteenth of Mesore," Bohairic *Instruction of Evodius* 19 (Robinson, *op.cit.* [above, n. 2] 65); cf. *Discourse of Theodosius* 5, 8 (Robinson, *ibid.*, 108-9, 120-1). Most of the Coptic dormition texts are homilies: van Esbroeck, "La dormition chez les Coptes," in *idem*, *Aux origines de la Dormition de la Vierge* (above, n. 3) chap. XI; also van Lantschoot, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3).

<sup>8</sup> W.J. Burghardt, "The Testimony of the Patristic Age concerning Mary's Death," *Marian Studies* 8 (1957) 58-99, esp. 77; M. Chaîne, "Sermon de Théodose patriarche d'Alexandrie, sur la dormition et l'assomption de la Vierge," *Revue de l'orient chrétien* 29 (1953-43) 273-314; van Esbroeck, *ibid.*; Limberis, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 57-9. Elliott provides a summary of the Bohairic *Discourse of Theodosius*, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 698-700.

riod of proliferation is the sixth century.<sup>9</sup> Most likely the story of Mary's passing arose in the Christian Near East, probably in Egypt or Syria-Palestine, apparently in circles sympathetic to esoteric theology. As we will see, the Virgin Mary glimpsed in the oldest versions of the legend functions in part as a mystagogue or revealer of cosmic and salvific mysteries. She is entrusted with a secret prayer to aid the soul in its ascent at death and escape from this material world through the heavenly spheres; this hidden knowledge accompanies a "Book of Mysteries" entrusted to her by Jesus for the instruction of his apostles. In later recountings of the story, Mary assumes a more passive role, sometimes remaining mute, and several of the more esoteric elements are veiled or omitted altogether.<sup>10</sup>

In his recent doctoral dissertation at Duke University, Stephen J. Shoemaker has argued cogently that the widespread adoption of the dormition story in fifth- and sixth-century eastern Christianity was part of a broader "discourse of orthodoxy" that sought to appropriate and refashion earlier heterodox legends about Mary, as her cult became a powerful universalizing symbol of the imperial Christian theocracy.<sup>11</sup> New churches and festivals dedicated to the Virgin were constructed around important (if legendary) events in her life, as her cult became the focus of orthodox Christian power over

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<sup>9</sup> Burghardt, *ibid.*, 70. Robinson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) xi-xiii, argued for the origins of these traditions in Egypt. Mary's title and role as Theotokos (Mother of God) was affirmed at Ephesus in 431 C.E.

<sup>10</sup> The "Book of Mysteries" entrusted to Mary by Jesus is replaced by a palm branch in one major version of the dormition legend and goes unmentioned in the other (see below). Furthermore, in contrast to her active role in the earlier narratives, such as the Yale fragments published here, Mary speaks not a word in the paraphrase of the dormition narrative included in the Sahidic *Homily of Evodius* until she appears in a vision seated on her heavenly throne; see the text recently published by S.J. Shoemaker, "The Sahidic Coptic Homily on the Dormition of the Virgin Attributed to Evodius of Rome: An Edition from Morgan MSS 596 & 598 with Translation," *Analecta Bollandiana* 117 (1999) 241-83, § 21.

<sup>11</sup> Shoemaker, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3). On this theme of the use of Mary for the purposes of imperial theology Shoemaker refers, among others, to Limberis, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) and A. Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse*. Sather Classical Lectures 55 (Berkeley 1991).

against the empire's non-Christian residents, especially the Manichaeans and the Jews, as well as against its non-conformist Christian subjects.

Literary sources stemming from the fifth and sixth centuries mention worship at a church dedicated to Mary in Jerusalem by Christians with "monophysite" sympathies, according to an Egyptian writer.<sup>12</sup> Devotion was offered the Virgin at the site of her house (or perhaps at her tomb), which suggests a liturgical connection for the dormition legend. Archaeological evidence also helps document the rise of the cult. The earliest known visual depiction of Mary's dormition is found on a pilgrim's relic from Palestine: a clay token with a seal impression that was discovered under the fill of an eighth-century building in Scythopolis (Bet She'an),<sup>13</sup> but which has been dated typologically to the late sixth or early seventh century. This small token (2.8 cm in diameter), which offered little scope for representing the full details of the legend, was a pious souvenir carried and eventually lost by a Christian traveler who had visited one of the holy places associated with Mary and her dormition in the Byzantine Holy Land.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> "Monophysite" Christians (particularly in Egypt and Syria) opposed the formula of the divine nature of Christ agreed at the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Burghardt, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) 92, refers to churches dedicated to Mary "near the pinnacle of the Temple" seen by the anonymous *Breviarium de Hierosolyma* (Shoemaker, *op.cit.* [above, n. 3] 34 cites the edition of R. Weber [CCL 175; Turnhout 1965] 7) and "in the Valley of Gethsemane" by Ps.-Antoninus Placentius, *Itinerarium* (Burghardt [*ibid.*] refers to CSEL 39, 170). Van Esbroeck says: "In a Coptic homily dedicated to Macarius, Bishop of Tkow, signatory of Ephesus, one understands that on 21 Tobe ... the monophysites assembled at the church in the Valley of Josaphat, at the foot of the Mount of Olives" (*op.cit.* [above, n. 7] 440, referring to *Dioscorus* 7, 5-7 [ed. D.W. Johnson; CSCO 415; Leuven 1980] 49-51). On this topic more generally see van Esbroeck, "Le culte de la Vierge, de Jérusalem à Constantinople aux vie-viie siècles," *Revue des études byzantines* 46 (1988) 181-90.

<sup>13</sup> L. Rahmani in *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, vol. 11: *The Bet She'an Excavation Project (1989-1991)* (Jerusalem 1993) 19-20. On these tokens generally see *id.*, "The Byzantine Solomon Eulogia Tokens in the British Museum," *Israel Exploration Journal* 49 (1999) 92-104.

<sup>14</sup> Probably the Gethsemane church associated with her tomb, though possibly the Kathisma church associated with the Nativity, located midway between



The conventional medieval iconography of the Virgin's *koimesis* would come to feature its own "canonical" narrative. This much richer depiction can be exemplified by a famous tenth-century ivory panel from Constantinople, later used by the German emperor Otto III as a cover for his gospel book and now housed in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich; by a mosaic at La Martorana in Palermo (1143 C.E.); by an illumination in the Winchester Psalter held in the British Library (Ms. Cotton Nero V.IV, folio 29, ca. 1150 C.E.); by an icon preserved in St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai desert, painted by a Venetian crusader artist in the thirteenth century; and finally by a beautifully preserved mosaic set in the early fourteenth-century nave of the Chora church in Constantinople.<sup>15</sup> In these five representations we see the Virgin lying peacefully on a bed or couch, surrounded by the apostles, with John resting his head on her breast (cf. *Gospel of John* 13:23), Peter at her head, and Paul grasping her feet. Mary sometimes has her arms crossed upon her chest. Christ cradles a swaddled newborn infant (representing Mary's soul) in his arms, or else holds it high toward his Father's hand reaching down through the skies; angels (including St. Michael) stand in the background or hover above the human figures.

In contrast to this relatively fixed image of medieval Christian art, the textual sources for the Virgin's dormition and assumption display a bewildering variety. In recent decades a good deal of progress has nonetheless been made in bringing some order to the dozens of texts preserved in a variety of languages and literary genres from late antiquity and the Middle Ages.<sup>16</sup> The work of Antoine

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Jerusalem and Bethlehem; for a helpful discussion see Shoemaker, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 45-51.

<sup>15</sup> See O. Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West* (New York 1970) fig. 173 (Winchester Psalter); Warner, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) plate IV #5 (La Martorana) and fig. 9 (Otto's book cover); Pelikan, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 202 (Winchester Psalter); K. Weitzman, *The Icon* (New York 1978) pl. 40 (St. Catherine's icon); F. Cimok (ed.), *Mosaics in Istanbul* (Istanbul 1997) #59, pp. 136-8 (Chora mosaic). On the connections of the 'canonical' picture and the literary sources, see C. Schaffer, *Koimesis, der Heimgang Mariens: Das Entschlafungsbild in seiner Abhängigkeit von Legende und Theologie* (Regensburg 1985).

<sup>16</sup> For useful discussions of modern work on the dormition traditions see Shoemaker, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 56-106, Clayton, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3), as well as

Wenger and Michel van Esbroeck has been especially important in sorting out the complexities. The key to their approach has been a literary-historical search for shared elements of plot and narrative detail, rather than an artificial reliance on presumptions from the history of dogma as a means of determining which versions of the legend were primary or "original" and which derive from subsequent developments.<sup>17</sup>

In his 1955 book on the dormition and assumption traditions, Wenger grouped about twenty of the narratives and homilies into one particular family and attempted to discern and explain its history. One important step was his identification and publication of the earliest extant Greek narrative of the dormition. Preserved in only one manuscript (Vaticanus gr. 1982), this version of the legend was composed no later than the sixth century and was attributed pseudonymously to the Apostle John.<sup>18</sup> Wenger made an intriguing argument that this single Greek text bears witness to an early and somewhat "heterodox" form of the dormition legend drawn upon by

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Daley's notes to his introduction to the homilies translated in *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 37-45.

<sup>17</sup> Much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century discussion of the dormition and assumption texts has been motivated whether positively or negatively by the Papal dogmatic pronouncement of Mary's bodily assumption (Pius XII *Munificentissimus Deus*, 1950). Mimouni's arguments in his otherwise valuable book on the *Dormition et assumption de Marie* about the relative dating of traditions according to their mention or omission of the Virgin's bodily assumption seem especially strained at times; see the effective critiques by Shoemaker, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 88-94, and Clayton, *ibid.*, 76-82, and cf. Daley, who mentions the book's "confusing style and its rather arbitrary assumptions" (*op.cit.* [above, n. 3] 38 n. 9).

<sup>18</sup> Wenger, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 17; 210-41; see also F. Manns, *Le récit de la Dormition de Marie (Vat. grec 1982): Contribution à l'étude des origines de l'exégèse chrétienne* (Jerusalem 1989), which seems to be more or less a reprint of his article with the same title in *Marianum* 50 (1988) 439-555, with the addition of the Greek text. Wenger and Manns refer to the Vatican manuscript and its narrative as "R," while in van Esbroeck's classification it is labeled "G 1." To distinguish this text from the better-known *Discourse of John the Evangelist* (Tischendorf, *op.cit.* [above, n. 2] 95-110; Elliott, *op.cit.* [above, n. 2] 701-9, van Esbroeck's G 2) as well as John of Thessaloniki's *Homily on the Dormition of Our Lady* (see next note), I will refer to the story of R/G 1 as Ps.-John's *Narrative on the Dormition*. If I have read him correctly, Daley, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 7, makes a rare slip in his excellent book when he says that Vat. gr. 1982 was "discovered by Antoine Wenger in a Paris manuscript and first published in 1965."

the Byzantine homiletic tradition, largely through the mediation of the sermon preached by Bishop John of Thessaloniki when the August 15<sup>th</sup> feast of the dormition was introduced to his city in the early-to-mid seventh-century.<sup>19</sup> Wenger also drew attention to detailed narrative connections shared by the Vatican manuscript (which he called "R" for Rome) with other early texts preserved in Syriac, Latin, and Gaelic,<sup>20</sup> and suggested that a common source for this family of narratives (likely composed in Greek) had been lost. As we will see, the Yale papyrus considered here offers persuasive evidence in favor of Wenger's suggestion.

Based largely on his study of the Coptic, Ethiopic, and Georgian versions, van Esbroeck extended Wenger's analysis and further separated most of the dormition texts into two main groups, which he labeled the "Palm of the Tree of Life" group and the "Bethlehem and Censings" group.<sup>21</sup> The "Palm" group (which includes the family of early texts that Wenger had identified, with the important addition of the Coptic tradition) features the gift of a palm branch to Mary by Jesus, who appears to her when the story opens to warn that the day of her death is near. This palm branch plays a prominent part later in the narrative, serving as an apotropaic wand and a potent source of harm and healing; in some versions the palm

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<sup>19</sup> Wenger, *ibid.*, 31-67. As I will discuss below, John of Thessaloniki's *Homily on the Dormition of Our Lady* closely parallels the story line of Ps.-John's *Narrative on the Dormition* with some adjustments in an anti-heterodox direction. For the text, see M. Jugie, *Homélies mariales byzantine* II. PO 19/3 (Paris 1926) 344-438; translation and notes in Daley, *ibid.*, 47-70. In van Esbroeck's analysis versions of this text represent G 3, G 4, and G 5.

<sup>20</sup> These related texts include the Syriac *Obsequies of the Virgin* edited by Wright (van Esbroeck's S 1), the Gaelic *Testament of Mary* edited by Donahue (H 1), and the Latin *Transitus Mariae* written in the name of Melito of Sardis (L 1) edited by Tischendorf and Haibach-Reinisch; for these editions, see above, n. 2; cf. now also Clayton, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3).

<sup>21</sup> See especially van Esbroeck, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3), where he identifies all but nine of the narratives known to him from before the tenth century as belonging to one of these two groups; Shoemaker has a very helpful summary in *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 109-29. Shoemaker himself would group the Coptic texts into a third family, based mostly on the separation of Mary's dormition (and actual death) and assumption as discussed above; but I prefer van Esbroeck's solution that the Coptic homiletic tradition is a particular branch of the "Palm of the Tree of Life" family of texts.

branch will eventually be planted in Paradise to become the mystical Tree of Life. In this set of stories, the Virgin's home is located in Jerusalem.<sup>22</sup> In many of these texts we see a special emphasis placed on the divine garments that Jesus provides Mary for use as her burial clothes.<sup>23</sup>

The "Bethlehem and Censings" group identified by van Esbroeck lacks this palm branch (as well as any interest in Mary's funerary garments). Instead these texts feature frequent offerings of prayer and incense by the apostles and the Virgin, who maintains houses in both Bethlehem and Jerusalem. The major representatives of this stream of tradition include the "standard" Greek narrative attributed to John the Apostle and the Syriac "Six Books" narrative attributed to James in the name of all twelve apostles.<sup>24</sup> According to this group of stories, Mary has spent her days in prayer (often at Jesus' tomb) and in miracle-working, and both activities enrage the Jews. Several such liturgical and apologetic features of

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<sup>22</sup> It is difficult to find a full collection of the various dormition legends in English. In Italian one can use M. Erbetta, *Gli apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento* I,2: *Vangeli: infanzia e passione di Cristo, assunzione di Maria* (Casale 1981). Though he does not employ van Esbroeck's classification, Elliott does translate or summarize several examples of the "Palm" group in his *Apocryphal New Testament* (above, n. 2), including excerpts from the very important Syriac *Obsequies* (van Esbroeck's S 1; Elliott, 721-3); the Latin *Transitus Mariae* attributed to Ps.-Melito of Sardis (L 1, Elliott 708-14); the "Sahidic Fragment" edited by Revillout (C 1, Elliott 700-1); the Sahidic *Homily on the Dormition* by Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem (C 2, Elliott 697-8); the Bohairic *Instruction of Evodius* (C 4, Elliott 695-7); and the Bohairic *Discourse of Theodosius* (C 5, Elliott 698-700). A translation of another important witness to the development of the "Palm" traditions, John of Thessaloniki's *Homily on the Dormition of Our Lady* (G 3, 4, 5), is available in Daley, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 47-67.

<sup>23</sup> I have noticed this feature in the oldest Greek text, Ps.-John's *Narrative on the Dormition* 9, 11, 20, 30; in John of Thessaloniki's *Homily on the Dormition of Our Lady* 6; in the Ethiopic *Liber requiei* 36, 37, 45, 53; the Gaelic *Testament of Mary* 12, 18; in Revillout's Sahidic fragments; the Bohairic *Instruction of Evodius* 9, 14; the Sahidic *Homily of Evodius* (ed. Shoemaker) 18-20; the Bohairic *Discourse of Theodosius* 2, 5, 6; and the Latin Ps.-Melito *Transitus Mariae* 3.3.

<sup>24</sup> Examples of the "Bethlehem and Censings" group translated or summarized by Elliott include the Greek *Discourse of John the Evangelist* (G 2, Elliott, *op.cit.* [above, n. 2] 701-8); the Syriac *Transitus Mariae* (S 2, Elliott, *ibid.*, 719); and the Syriac "Six Books" narrative called *History of the Blessed Virgin Mary* by Budge or *Departure of Our Lady Mary* by Wright (S 3, Elliott, *ibid.*, 716-20).

this "Bethlehem" group appear to be secondary.<sup>25</sup> Other isolated versions of the dormition legend fit into neither main group, especially the late-fifth-century Syriac homily of Jacob of Sarug.<sup>26</sup>

Recent scholarship allows us to go further. Certain texts, including the Coptic papyrus considered here, represent an early form of the stream of traditions that would emerge as the "Palm of the Tree of Life" group.<sup>27</sup> One of the striking aspects of this sub-class of "pre-Palm" texts is that a "Book of Mysteries" stands in place of the palm branch given to Mary by the angelic Christ at the start of the story.<sup>28</sup> This book contains the mysteries of creation and accompanies a prayer-spell that the Virgin must use at sunrise on the day of her death to ensure her soul's safe ascent to heaven through the spheres.<sup>29</sup> She is also bid by the Christ-Angel to pass this book and the knowledge of the prayer on to the apostles (scene 1 in my reconstructed outline). So when John comes to aid Mary as her day of "going forth from the body" approaches, she takes him into her inner room, tells him the secret prayer, gives him the book, and

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<sup>25</sup> Cf. the analysis of Shoemaker, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3), esp. 135ff. Though he recognizes the secondary nature of many of the features of the "Bethlehem" group, Shoemaker resists assigning priority to any of the several ancient versions of the dormition legend.

<sup>26</sup> For this text see P. Bedjan, *Sancti martyrii qui et Sahdona quae supersunt omnia* (Leipzig 1902) 709-19; cf. T.R. Hurst, "The 'Transitus' of Mary in a Homily of Jacob of Sarug," *Marianum* 52 (1990) 86-100; Daley, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 8-9, 40 n. 22.

<sup>27</sup> Please consult Table 1, where I provide a reconstruction of the basic "pre-Palm" or "Book of Mysteries" dormition narrative, based on a synoptic comparison of the six most important texts.

<sup>28</sup> Erbetta, *op.cit.* (above, n. 22) 422-3, followed by Manns, *op.cit.* (above, n. 18), argues instead that the book (βιβλίον) found in the *Liber requiei* is the result of a mistranslation of a Greek original βραβεῖον (usually meaning "prize" but here taken as "palm-branch"); but Shoemaker, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 207-9 effectively shows that the literary context of the *Liber requiei* consistently requires that Mary received a book, not a palm branch. The Yale papyrus re-edited here confirms the presence of the book rather than the palm.

<sup>29</sup> The Christ-Angel gives Mary the book in the Ethiopic *Liber requiei* 1 and the prayer in *Liber requiei* 13-15 as well as in Ps.-John's *Narrative on the Dormition* (G 1) 7-8; other parts of this opening scene survive in the Syriac *Obsequies* fragments (Wright, *op.cit.* [above, n. 2]) as well as the Georgian fragments edited by van Esbroeck, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 69-73.

shows him her heavenly funerary garments (scene 5).<sup>30</sup> Mary will speak this prayer spell on the morning of her dormition, and afterwards the book will be carried before or laid upon her bier as the apostles carry her body forth for burial (scenes 9 and 13).<sup>31</sup> In the revised "pre-Palm" texts, instead of the book, the Virgin gives John a palm branch entrusted to her by the Christ-Angel, and the palm will play the same role as did the book when the apostles process to her tomb.<sup>32</sup>

Wenger believed that a lost source of heterodox flavor stood behind Ps.-John's *Narrative on the Dormition* (Vat. gr. 1982, G 1), a source that we can now identify as the "pre-Palm" or "Book of Mysteries" narrative. While two of the key texts of the "Book" story have survived only in pieces, namely the Syriac *Obsequies of the Virgin* published by Wright and the Georgian fragments studied by van Esbroeck, there exists a complete Ethiopic version, the *Liber requiei* published by Arras, which "parallels all the extant fragments, both Georgian and Syriac, with remarkable accuracy."<sup>33</sup> In addition to the Greek Ps.-John *Narrative*, two key members of the

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<sup>30</sup> *Liber requiei* 44-45 (prayer, book, garments); Ps.-John's *Narrative* 19-21 (prayer, book, garments, palm).

<sup>31</sup> *Liber requiei* 66 (prayer), 71 (burial procession); Ps.-John's *Narrative* 32 (prayer), 37 (procession with palm). Ps.-Melito's *Transitus* (11) and the Gaelic *Testament of Mary* (25) have the procession with the palm but do not mention the prayer in the opening scene.

<sup>32</sup> In Ps.-John's *Narrative on the Dormition* a palm branch initially replaces the book (*Narrative* 2-3), but the book appears as a doublet without explanation in *Narrative* 20, when Mary takes John into her inner room, tells him the secret prayer, and says "take this book wherein the mystery is." Then in *Narrative* 21 she also gives him the palm branch, which later accompanies her funeral procession (37). In Ps.-Melito's *Transitus*(4.2), the Gaelic *Testament of Mary* (12), and John of Thessaloniki's *Homily on the Dormition of Our Lady* (6), Mary shows John the palm and the garments, but there is no mention of the book or prayer.

<sup>33</sup> Shoemaker, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 120; see also Clayton, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 75-85. Elliott, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2), does not include any excerpts of the various Ethiopic or Georgian accounts, which, as he states, more or less correctly, "are, in general, dependent on the Syriac" (p. 691) and so the only full translation available in print is Arras' Latin version of the Ethiopic in his CSCO edition (see above, n. 2). I am grateful to Stephen Shoemaker for providing me with his unpublished English translations of both the *Liber requiei* and Ps.-John's *Narrative*, Vat. gr. 1982, both of which I have used in my citations here.

"pre-Palm" group that relate rather closely to these "Book of Mysteries" texts, despite a certain amount of editorial intervention, survive in their entirety: the Latin *Transitus Mariae* falsely attributed to Melito of Sardis and the Gaelic *Testament of Mary*.<sup>34</sup>

Striking aspects of the language and narrative of Ps.-John's *Narrative* that differ from the later "Palm" narratives are attested in some or all of these other texts. Christ's initial appearance to Mary is in the form of a "great angel," who in addition to the palm branch (*Narrative* 2) entrusts her with a secret prayer to use on her day of "going forth from the body" (*Narrative* 7) (scene 1 on the outline in Table 1; see the end of this article).<sup>35</sup> In the blessings that she offers to her son (scene 2), Mary speaks of his "bridal chamber" (10), the "garment" that will accompany her to the "seventh heaven," and addresses him as "the hidden race" and "the Pleroma" (11). She asks for assistance to "pass the powers that will come upon" her soul (*Narrative* 12). Many of these terms are reminiscent of the language of mystical or heterodox Christianity, especially "gnostic" myth, though as scholars have noted, other aspects of the narrative (especially the relatively positive view of creation) are difficult to reconcile with most gnostic ideology.<sup>36</sup> When the Apostle John arrives to aid her, Mary leads him into her inner room (scene 5) and, in addition to showing him her garments and palm branch, gives him a "book in which is the mystery. For when he was five years old the teacher revealed all the things of creation, and he also

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<sup>34</sup> For publication details for these various texts, see above, n. 2.

<sup>35</sup> Some of these texts had already attracted some attention as potentially "primitive" due in part to the angelic christophany at the opening. Christ's appearance in the form of an angel is reminiscent of angelic christologies often associated with Jewish Christian thought. Testa, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3), and Manns, *op.cit.* (above, n. 18), follow up Bellarmino Bagatti's notions about a circle of Palestinian Jewish Christians with close connection to Mary, the family of Jesus, and the first disciples who were supposedly responsible for preserving a factual basis for many "apocryphal" legends. For discussion and further literature see Shoemaker, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 70-9.

<sup>36</sup> For a balanced discussion see Shoemaker, *ibid.*, 205-18. Leslie MacCoull, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 31 spoke of 7<sup>th</sup>-century "Gnostic survivals" when she published the Yale papyrus in 1989. W.H.C. Frend, "The Gnostic Origins of the Assumption Legend," *The Modern Churchman* 43 (1953) 23-8, also proposed a Gnostic milieu in part because of the late appearance of the dormition legends.

put you, the Twelve, in it" (*Narrative* 20). The presence of both the book and the palm offers a revealing doublet:

[A]s the discourse of orthodoxy extended its reach, tolerance for secret books and traditions increasingly waned, and so this book of mysteries was eventually displaced in later narratives by a palm. Hence, the book of mysteries has been erased from all but two of the very earliest texts, and of these perhaps the earliest Greek text, with its double attestation of both a palm and a book, has captured this process of transformation in midstream.<sup>37</sup>

Another fascinating sidelight is that the prayer that Mary speaks in this "Book of Mysteries" dormition narrative seems later to have been excerpted and expanded as a major "text of ritual power" in the Coptic magical tradition.<sup>38</sup>

Despite these tantalizing references to the "Book of Mysteries" in Ps.-John's *Narrative on the Dormition*, elsewhere in that text the palm-branch plays its customary role. So the best surviving representative of the "pre-Palm" or "Book of Mysteries" texts is the Ethiopic *Liber requiei*. This telling of the legend is complete (unlike the Syriac *Obsequies*, Georgian fragments, or Yale Coptic papyrus) and preserves the earlier form of the story before the palm branch began to supplant the "Book of Mysteries," as in Ps.-John's *Narrative*, or had ousted it altogether, as in Ps.-Melito's *Transitus* or the Gaelic *Testament of Mary*. The prominence given the magical palm tree that once bowed down to feed the hungry infant Jesus, as the angel reminds Mary in the opening scene, may have been what suggested the palm's suitability to replace the troubling "Book of Mysteries." Furthermore, in the episode where the Jews are blinded while attacking Mary's funeral bier (scene 14), Peter offers "a palm-leaf from this book" as the saving implement, according to the *Liber*

<sup>37</sup> Shoemaker, *ibid.*, 209. Now of course there is a third early text with the book, namely the Yale Coptic papyrus.

<sup>38</sup> *The Magical Book of Mary and the Angels* (*P.Heid. inv. kopt. 685*), (ed.) Marvin Meyer (Heidelberg 1996) 2: ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΜΕΖ:ΚΑ: ΜΠΡΟΕΥΧΗ ΜΑΡΙΔ ΜΠΑΘΕΝΟC ΔΟΟC ΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΠΕCΝΚΑΤΕ ("This is the 21st prayer that the Virgin Mary spoke [on] the day [of] her falling sleep"); cf. BL Or. 6796 (2), translated in *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power*, (eds.) Marvin Meyer & Richard Smith (San Francisco 1994) 283ff. As Meyer notes (*Magical Book of Mary*, 56) though the number 21 often has special magical properties, there is also an interesting coincidence between this "21<sup>st</sup> prayer" and the Coptic dormition date of 21 Tobe.



*requiei*, not the palm branch or staff of other versions.<sup>39</sup> It is possible that the "Book of Mysteries" was imagined as having been written on leaves of the magical palm-tree, but whether or not this is so, the scene is suggestive of the process by which the book was replaced by the palm in circles that found the notion of cosmic mysteries entrusted to the Virgin to be disquieting.

Arras and Shoemaker have proposed that the *Liber requiei* should be considered the most faithful witness to this stream of tradition;<sup>40</sup> but a major difficulty in accepting their suggestion has been that the surviving Syriac and Georgian fragments that parallel the Ethiopic version so closely unfortunately include so little of the sections in which either the book or the palm branch were discussed. This lacuna has now been filled by the Yale papyrus. As we will see below, in the Coptic fragments we find both scene 5, where we read of Mary taking John into her inner chamber to show him a "Book of Mysteries" (P. CtYBR inv. 1788 column B iii), as well as scene 7, where she blesses her son as "Offspring of the Aions" (col. A ii). There is no mention of a palm branch. Thus it is no longer possible to doubt that the Ethiopic *Liber requiei* represents a very early form of the dormition story: indeed I would argue (with all due reserve when using such terms) that these "Book of Mysteries" texts have every claim to offering the "most original" form of the legend known to us.<sup>41</sup> The date of composition of the story is likely to be in the middle of the fifth century, since the manuscript of the earliest extant witness to the "pre-Palm" narrative (the Syriac *Obsequies*)

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<sup>39</sup> *Liber requiei* 76; note however that the fragment of the Syriac *Obsequies* that parallels the blinding of the Jews (Wright, *op.cit.* [above, n. 2] 14-5) mentions a "staff" instead of either a book or a palm.

<sup>40</sup> Arras, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) vol. 1, vi-vii; Shoemaker, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 199-200.

<sup>41</sup> Though he recognizes the relative antiquity of what I am calling the "pre-Palm" or "Book" texts, Shoemaker quite sensibly opposes the notion of locating an "original" dormition narrative, both because of his stated preference for a model of difference and variety in early Christian literature and theology (what he calls a "discourse of heterodoxy") and because of the strained history of scholarly attempts to "discover" the "primitive" version as a way of rescuing the dormition legends for contemporary Roman Catholic mariology. See Shoemaker, *ibid.*, esp. 107-69. Clayton, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) argues strongly for the priority of the "Palm" over the "Bethlehem" tradition.

has been dated palaeographically to around 500 C.E., and the somewhat revised version of Ps.-Melito's *Transitus Mariae* is not much younger.<sup>42</sup>

The pattern of esoteric language and imagery in the "pre-Palm" or "Book" texts helps explain the wariness exhibited by the late-antique ecclesiastical tradition when (as Shoemaker has convincingly argued) "orthodox" church leaders adopted the dormition legend despite its rather heterodox origins. Surprising as it may seem to those familiar with the mostly passive role of the Blessed Virgin in "mainstream" Christianity, in quite a few ancient texts Mary the mother of Jesus is featured as a revealer of heavenly teachings.<sup>43</sup> Not only do the "pre-Palm" texts show Mary as an instructor of the apostles in the esoteric mysteries hidden in the book, but her prayer of ascent in the divine garments, given to her by the Christ-Angel in preparation of her "going forth from the body," also has its unusual aspects. The prayer is meant to allow the newly freed soul "to pass by the monsters, so as to pass through every world" (*Liber requiei* 15), and the heavenly garments are meant to form the vehicle that, as Mary explains in her blessing of Christ, will propel the soul "to enter the seventh heaven" (*Liber requiei* 37). Presumably these heavenly garments were originally meant to represent the "new spiritual body" that would replace the fleshly husk of the soul at death in Christian mystical teaching.

These elements of the early "pre-Palm" texts clarify why important representatives of the later "Palm of the Tree of Life" dormition narratives took such pains to explain and defend their reliance on an apparently dubious or even "heretical" work of literature. The Ps.-Melito *Transitus Mariae*, for example, emphasizes the

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<sup>42</sup> *Obsequies*: Wright, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 11; Ps.-Melito's *Transitus*: Wenger, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 90-1; Haibach-Reinisch, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 45-7; for a list of proposed dates for many of the dormition texts see Shoemaker, *ibid.*, 53-4.

<sup>43</sup> See for example the Virgin's role in the *Questions of Bartholomew*, the *Pistis Sophia*, and the *Magical Book of Mary and the Angels*. It is quite possible that the otherwise undefined "Mary" of other early texts, such as the *Gospel of Mary*, was understood to be the mother of Jesus and not (as is usually thought) Mary Magdalene. For discussion see Shoemaker, "Rethinking the 'Gnostic Mary': Mary of Nazareth and Mary of Magdala in Early Christian Tradition" (my thanks to the author for sharing this article with me in its prepublication form).

putative author's close relationship with the Apostle John and rehearses the biblical scene where the crucified Christ entrusts Mary to his care.<sup>44</sup> In a prologue put before the start of the dormition narrative proper, "Melito" claims that he has restored the apostolic truth of the story by purging it of unseemly elements interpolated by the heretical forger Leucius (also famously "blamed" for writing the apocryphal acts of apostles). "Melito" (himself of course a "pious fraud") states that Leucius has "corrupted with an evil pen the departure of the Blessed Mary ever virgin."<sup>45</sup> Similarly, when John, the seventh-century bishop of Thessaloniki, paraphrases this earlier dormition narrative in his homily introducing the August 15<sup>th</sup> feast of the *koimesis*, he explains that the festival had not been introduced to his church beforehand, since it was necessary to "cleanse the evil interpolations" supposedly introduced into the story by "mischievous heretics." "We have taken no account of fabricated stories, since they have been interpolated into the traditions by the malice of those who fabricated them."<sup>46</sup>

To be sure "Melito of Sardis" and John of Thessaloniki were sincerely concerned to purify the earlier dormition legend. Though in John's *Homily on the Dormition of Our Lady* the "great angel" still appears in the opening scene (*Homily* 3), soon the revised "Palm of the Tree of Life" narrative as revised would replace the angel with the resurrected Christ, would substitute the palm branch for the "Book of Mysteries," and would suppress all references to the Pleroma, the Aions, and journeys of the soul to the seventh heaven in a divine garment. Mary's prayer would become a conventional address to God as she awaits death. The Virgin may still take John into her inner room (*Homily* 6), but only to show him the palm and her burial clothes: the heavenly garments once meant to convey her away from this world have become an ordinary funeral shroud.

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<sup>44</sup> Ps.-Melito *Transitus Mariae* 1-2 (Elliott, *op.cit.* [above, n. 2] 708). Clayton, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 85-93 has an excellent discussion of the Ps.-Melito texts. The Gaelic pre-Palm narrative and John of Thessaloniki have Mary emphasize the same scene (independently of Ps.-Melito it seems) when John arrives to aid her: *Testament of Mary* 9; *Homily on the Dormition of Our Lady* 6.

<sup>45</sup> *Transitus Mariae* 1 (Elliott, *ibid.*).

<sup>46</sup> *Homily on the Dormition of Our Lady* 1-2 (Jugie, *op.cit.* [above, n. 19] 376-7; Daley, *op.cit.* [above, n. 3] 48-9); Shoemaker, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 198-9.

The Yale papyrus re-edited here confirms the antiquity of the "heterodox" elements of the "pre-Palm" or "Book of Mysteries" dormition narrative otherwise attested fully only in the Ethiopic *Liber requiei*. Written in a standard literary Sahidic, the manuscript has lost up to half of its original contents. Surviving portions include parts of seven scenes in the "Book" narrative, beginning with the dialogue between Mary and John in scene 4 (see Table 1; end of article) and ending with Christ's command to Peter to bury her body in scene 12. The single sheet of papyrus still extant contains eight partial columns of text that represent four two-columned pages from a codex.<sup>47</sup> The sheet was folded to make two folios; I have labeled the front of the sheet as side A ("recto," where the fibers run horizontally) and the back as side B ("verso," with fibers running vertically). The first surviving page is found in the two right-hand columns of side B, namely the "back" of the papyrus as conserved, while the last extant page is represented by the two left-hand columns of the same sheet. When the sheet was folded, columns B iii, B iv, A i, and A ii originally made an uninterrupted sequence of two pages, forming one two-sided folio, as did columns A iii, A iv, B i, and B ii. The interior columns (A ii, A iii, B ii, B iii) are the best preserved.

Since the papyrus as it survives is missing both the introduction and the conclusion of the story, it appears likely that one additional sheet has been lost, which would have provided enough room for up to four more pages of material, two pages at the start for scenes 1 through 3 (needed especially for the normally lengthy opening appearance of the Christ-Angel to Mary and gift of the prayer, garments, and book) and two more pages afterwards for scenes 13 (procession with Mary's body) to the end (with attacks and blinding of the Jews, a dogmatic controversy among the apos-

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<sup>47</sup> MacCoull saw that the codex had two columns to a page, but apparently thought that only the central columns of each sheet were preserved. She thus printed a reconstruction of the papyrus into a total of four columns instead of eight. What she took to be continuations of the longer-preserved columns are actually remnants of the outer columns of each sheet. What I have labeled col. B iv, A i, A iv, and B i, she took to be the lower portions of columns IV, III, II, and I respectively.

tles, and/or visits to Paradise or Hell).<sup>48</sup> Though conceivably an additional sheet may have stood between columns A ii (on the second extant page) and A iii (the start of the third extant page), the flow of the story makes it unlikely that so much has been lost: both columns A ii and A iii are part of a conversation in which the Virgin offers Christ a series of blessings (= scene 7).

Thus the story as we find it here follows the expected landmarks of the "Book" group of dormition narratives. The opening three scenes and final five episodes are missing in the lost leaf of four pages, and many other scenes are only poorly preserved due to substantial damage to the papyrus. Two brief scenes have been lost altogether, namely scenes 9 and 11. Here is a résumé of the Yale narrative's contents:

Scenes 1–3. *Missing*.

Scene 4. End of conversation between Mary and John (col. B iii, lines 1-7).

Scene 5. Mary takes John into inner room, gives him book ( col. B iii, 8-13).

Scene 6. Gathering of the apostles to Mary (cols. B iv, Ai).

Scene 7. Mary blesses Christ in her inner room (cols. A ii, A iii).

Scene 8. Peter preaches a sermon during the night (?) (col. A iv).

Scene 9. *Missing*.

Scene 10. Jesus arrives and praises Mary, who is dying (col. B I).

Scene 11. *Missing*.

Scene 12. Jesus bids apostles to be witnesses and Peter to bury Mary (col. B ii).

Scenes 13–17. *Missing*.

The first scene as it survives (col. B iii) opens in the midst of a conversation between Mary and John, presumably near the end of scene 4 (though possibly the beginning of scene 5 instead). John apparently addresses the Virgin as "Queen," but the letters are not completely clear. In later and better-preserved versions of the story, the narrator (often taken to be an apostle) refers to Mary as "Queen of Heaven" or "Queen of all women," though admittedly not in di-

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<sup>48</sup> See also MacCoull, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 31. MacCoull had difficulty making sense of the flow of the story, in part because she used a photograph of P. CtYBR inv. 1788 taken before various pieces were restored to their original positions during conservation of the papyrus (see *ibid.*, Plate 4).

rect address as would seem to be the case here.<sup>49</sup> At this point the narrative description starts to track closely the language of the oldest Greek text as well as the Ethiopic *Liber requiei*. Mary urges patience and, in the start of the key scene 5, she enters an inner room (ΤΑΜ[Ε]ΙΟΝ) to show him the "Book of the Mysteries" that Jesus had given her.<sup>50</sup> Mary addresses John as her "brother," as in the *Gospel of Mary* but unlike the bulk of the dormition tradition, where she calls him "father." In scene 6 (col. B iv), after a loss of about ten lines of text, we learn of the gathering of all the apostles, which according to all the parallel versions means that Mary's death is known to be imminent.

The lengthier scene 7 has already begun in the poorly preserved col. A i. Though it may seem that the risen Jesus is speaking here, since someone mentions the arrival of the apostles "just as I said" and then seems to promise that "my angels will guard" something, it is even more likely that (as in several parallel texts) Mary is recounting her son's promise not to leave her to face the powers of death alone.<sup>51</sup> In the next lines (col. A ii) the Virgin enters her bed-chamber and addresses Jesus in prayer and blessing, calling him the "Offspring of all the Aions" and the "Life that came forth from the Father." The more elaborated versions of the story have extended passages of prayers of blessing and praise like these offered by Mary to "my Son and my Lord."<sup>52</sup> Mention of the Virgin's bed suggests even more strongly that her departure is fast approaching.

Jesus' words to Mary are still being spoken or quoted on the third page (col. A iii), which mentions "your departure from the body" (ΠΟΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ—second person feminine). This column continues with Mary's descriptive figure of herself in the midst of the apostles

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<sup>49</sup> Sahidic *Instruction of Evodius* 10: ΤΡΡΟ ΔΕ ΔΥΩ ΤΜΑΔΥ ΕΜΠΡΡΟ ΝΝΕΡΡΟΟΥ (Robinson, *op.cit.* [above, n. 2] 70); Bohairic *Instruction of Evodius* 10 (*bis*) ("the Queen of all women, Mary the Virgin, the mother of the King of Kings," Robinson, *ibid.*, 56).

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Ps.-John's *Narrative of the Dormition* (G 1) 20; *Liber requiei* 44-45.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. the Gaelic *Testament of Mary* 18; Ps.-John's *Narrative* 29; *Liber requiei* 52.

<sup>52</sup> Bohairic *Discourse of Theodosius* 3: †СМОУ ЕРОК ПΙΘΥСАΥΡΟС ΝΤΕ ΔΓΔΘΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ ... †СМОУ ЕРОК ΠΩΝΘ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΠΔΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΖ ... †СМОУ ЕРОК ΠΙΧΛΟМ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΟΥΡΩΟΥ ΝΘΗΜΙ ... (Robinson, *ibid.*, 100).

and angels "as a grapevine is surrounded" by the clusters of its fruit, and then a renewed address to her son as "all blessing and all sweetness." Her language is very similar to that found in Mary's blessing in the comparable passages of the Greek Ps.-John *Narrative* and the Ethiopic *Liber requiei*: "For I believe that the things that you told me have happened to me. You said, "I will send all the apostles to you when you go forth from the body," and behold, they have been brought together, and I am in their midst, just like a fruit-bearing vine ... I bless you with every blessing ...".<sup>53</sup>

Col. A iv seems at first to reveal little of any substance. However, at this point in the "Book of Mysteries" narrative we expect to find scene 8, where Peter spends the night awaiting Mary's death preaching a sermon to the assembled crowd of virgins, neighbors, and/or apostles about death and the afterlife.<sup>54</sup> The surviving words and letters of column A iv, such as  $\text{NOY}\Phi\text{E}$  ("good"),  $\text{Q}\text{M}\text{P}\text{M}\text{I}$   $\text{J}\text{M}\Delta\text{Y}$  ("in that place"), and possibly "he erred," would fit such a reconstruction.

The first column on the fourth page (col. B i), though also brief, shows that Jesus has now arrived (scene 10), as we see him praising Mary for the sustenance he once received from her breasts. The Virgin giving suck to Jesus is a well-known feature of Christian contemplation of the relations of the Mother and Child both in literature (e.g., *Gospel of Luke* 11: 27-28 or *Gospel of Thomas* 79) and in art, especially in Coptic Egypt.<sup>55</sup> It is likely that by this time in the story Mary has now died. Words of love and praise from Jesus to his mother at or just after the moment of her death are featured in some later accounts.<sup>56</sup> The final column of the Yale text (col. B ii)

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<sup>53</sup> Ps.-John's *Narrative* 29 (Vat. gr. 1982); *Liber requiei* 52 (trans. Shoemaker).

<sup>54</sup> *Liber requiei* 54-65; Ps.-John's *Narrative* 31 mentions but does not quote the sermon.

<sup>55</sup> See e.g. the undated incised limestone reliefs from the Fayyum (4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> cents.?) or the 7<sup>th</sup>-century wall painting from St. Jeremiah at Saqqara in K. Wessel, *Coptic Art* (New York 1965), pls. 5-6, II, or in P.M. du Bourguet, *The Art of the Copts* (New York 1967), fig. 25 and pl. 6. For discussion see E.S. Bolman, *The Coptic Galaktotrophousa as the Medicine of Immortality* (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College 1997).

<sup>56</sup> Bohairic *Instruction of Evodius* 13, where Jesus blesses various parts of Mary's body, including "thy breasts, O Mary my virgin mother, for thou didst

reveals that the Virgin has definitely died by now, as Jesus instructs his apostles to bear witness to these events and calls on them to understand that her birth (meaning her birth into eternal life) has been ordinary: she has really died. This too fits the "pre-Palm" or "Book of Mysteries" pattern. The text breaks off with Jesus commanding Peter, "Hurry up and prepare to bury her" (scene 12).

The Yale papyrus was most likely inscribed in the early ninth century. The "accomplished and sophisticated" hand of the manuscript was placed tentatively in the mid-seventh century by MacCoull.<sup>57</sup> She also mentions "the elegance of the papyrus codex."<sup>58</sup> According to notes in the Beinecke Library electronic catalogue, Theodore C. Petersen proposed a date in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, while Hans Jakob Polotsky suggested that the script dated to the ninth or tenth century. According to my analysis, various features of the letter shapes, especially the *alpha*, *kappa*, *lambda*, *rho*, *tau*, and *chima*, as well as the use of enlarged and partially decorated initials, compare rather closely with Sahidic literary manuscripts that fall in a range from the eighth century to the tenth century.<sup>59</sup> But the closest hand that I have found is that of the ninth-century *Synaxarion* Morgan 575.<sup>60</sup> No *nomina sacra* occur in the Yale papyrus, but this apparent lack may not mean much, since there was little opportunity for their use in any case.<sup>61</sup> "The uncial hand features

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nourish me from them" (Robinson, *op.cit.* [above, n. 2] 61; cf. *Instruction* 7, *ibid.* 53).

<sup>57</sup> MacCoull, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 30, 32.

<sup>58</sup> MacCoull, *ibid.*, 32.

<sup>59</sup> A.I. Elanskaya, *The Literary Coptic Manuscripts in the A.S. Pushkin Museum in Moscow*. Vig.Chr.Sup. 18 (Leiden 1994), no. 629 (Sahidic fragment of a martyrdom from Deir el-Medineh, 8<sup>th</sup> cent.; pp. 140-3 with Plate 50); no. 632 (Sahidic homily, ca. 8<sup>th</sup> cent.; pp. 362-4 with Plates 135-6); no. 295 (Sahidic [with Fayyumic tendencies] martyrdom of Apa Nile, apparently with some sheets as old as the 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> cent. and others as late as the 10<sup>th</sup> cent. [colophon 678 AM = 961/62 C.E.]; pp. 99-107 with Plates 38-41); and no. 715 (Sahidic encomium on Apa Peter, with ornamented initials; 10<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> cent.; pp. 94-8 with Plates 36-7).

<sup>60</sup> M. Cramer, *Koptische Paläographie* (Wiesbaden 1964) no. 19 (dated 823 C.E.); cf. the ekthetic *alpha* in P. CtYBR inv. 1788 col. B iii, line 8.

<sup>61</sup> For example, in these fragments Jesus appears only in interlocutive settings, that is, in the first and second persons, and what is more, his name is un-



heavy clubbing on nearly all vertical elements,<sup>62</sup> visible also on the left ends of crossbars for the letters *pi*, *tau*, and *ti*. There are no superlinear strokes, other than a line-ending abbreviation sign representing a final *nu* (ⲉⲛⲟⲩ col. A iv, line 2).

In three parallel columns below I provide a diplomatic transcription of the papyrus, a restored text, and as much of a translation as is possible. The surviving columns preserve from six to fifteen lines of text; complete lines contain anywhere from nine to sixteen letters, but most often eleven or twelve. Each column had a flush left margin and an irregular right margin. Some initials are oversized and ekthetic (intruding into the left margin,) and at times coincide with the start or stop of dialogue (col. B iii, line 8; col. A ii, line 6) or the beginning of an especially significant portion of dialogue (as in Mary's speech to Jesus in col. A iii, lines 6 and 11, or Jesus' words to Peter, col. B ii, line 12). At one point, small hooks in the left margin set off a speech of the Virgin (col. A ii). The scribe sometimes marks transitions with the use of a raised dot or colon (as in cols. A iii, A iv, or B ii).

#### SCENES 4-5: Conversation between the Apostle John and the Virgin Mary.

##### Col. B iii (↑)

This column preserves some words from one of the Apostles, presumably John (see line 4) and then the Virgin's response. The top and bottom do not survive; the left margin is intact, as is the right in lines 5-8 and 10.

	ⲡⲱⲛⲉ[ . . . ] . [ . . .	ⲫⲫⲱ ⲛⲉ[ⲓⲟⲙ]ⲉ[ . . .	"Queen of women (?), . . .
	ⲉⲓⲟⲛⲧⲉⲟⲧ . . . .	ⲉⲓⲟ ⲛ ⲧⲉⲟⲧⲧⲓ ⲁⲛ	as I am not discouraged."
	ⲧⲧⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲉⲧⲓ[ .	ⲧⲧⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲉ ⲧⲓ[ⲉ	But the Virgin
4	ⲭⲁⲕⲛⲓⲱⲉⲁⲛⲛⲛⲉⲕ	ⲭⲁⲕ ⲛ ⲓⲱⲉⲁⲛⲛⲛⲉⲕ	[s]aid to John,
	ⲭⲉⲩⲣⲟⲩⲛⲉⲩⲧ	ⲭⲉⲩⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ ⲉⲩⲧ	"Be patient, my
	ⲧⲁⲕⲟⲛⲧⲁⲭⲁⲱⲉⲣⲟⲕ	ⲧⲁⲕⲟⲛ ⲧⲁⲭⲁⲱ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ	brother, I shall tell you
	ⲉⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ	ⲉⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ	what I have seen."

---

fortunately not preserved in any form (Christ, Jesus, Savior) in the surviving lines.

<sup>62</sup> MacCoull, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 30.

8	ΔΧΑΙΤϣΕΞΟΥΝΕ ΠΕΚΤΑΜΙΟΝΕ ΤΑΜΟϣΕΠΔΩ ΩΜΕΝΝΕΜ.ϣ	ΔΧΑΙΤϣ̄ΕΞΟΥΝΕ ΠΕΚΤΑΜΙΟΝ Ε- ΤΑΜΟϣ ΕΠΔΩ- ΩΜΕ Ν ΝΕΜΥC-	She took him into her inner room [to] show him the Book of the
12	ΤΗΡΙΟΝΝΤ[... ΔΔ.ΝΔC....[	ΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΤ[... Τ-] ΔΔϣ ΝΔC Ν[....	Mysteries that [... [gave] to her (?)

1 M(acCoull) prints  $\rho\omega\ldots$  [ , but the partial letter following the *rho* is more probably an *omega*, and the lower sections of two following letters (an *iota* or *tau* or *nu*) are clearly visible. In fact M.'s suggested *omicron* is impossible, since the line at the bottom right of the letter would then need to be understood as a ligature with the following letter. Only *alpha* is ligatured in this manner in this papyrus. An ornamented letter, probably a *rho*, began the line and it has substantial underlining to note its significance, as would be appropriate for the suggested restoration of a vocative  $\bar{\rho}\omega$ . The letter has a slightly curved vertical shaft extending below the line, with substantial clubbing. Initials other than *rho* or *tau* (like  $\dagger$ ) seem to be ruled out; instances of ornamental initial  $\dagger$  are considerably larger, e.g., col. A ii 11 or A iii 11. My restoration of  $\bar{\rho}\omega\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\zeta}[\iota\omicron\mu]\epsilon$  fits with ascriptions of the title of Mary in later *Dormition* texts, such as the Sahidic *Instruction of Evodius*, 10 (see footnote 49 above). Other restorations of the first word fit the context less well. Words with the right combination of initial letters (either *tau* + *rho* or *rho* + *rho*) would include forms of verbs such as  $\tau\bar{\rho}\rho\epsilon$  (= to be afraid) or  $\rho\omega\tau$  (to grow) or  $\rho\omega\bar{\zeta}$  (= to strike, blow), but none of these is especially compelling.

2 Another possible sequence would be  $\epsilon\iota\omicron\ \bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\omicron\tau$ , which would mean "since I am of this sort." The word  $[\tau\alpha\mu]\epsilon\iota\omicron\eta\eta$  is possible but less likely, because it is spelled  $\tau\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\eta$  just a few lines below (B iii 9).

3 The initial  $\tau$ - is enlarged and extends into the left margin. M. reads  $\ldots\ \Delta\epsilon\ \tau[$  at the end of the line. While the *janja* is possible (there is a hole in the papyrus where the top right stroke would be)  $\Delta\epsilon$  is much more plausible, because it marks a shift in speaker, whereas her restored sequence  $\Delta\epsilon\ \tau\ \chi\Delta\epsilon$  is obscure. Note the very similar  $\Delta\epsilon$  in col. A iv 6. The right vertical stroke of the *pi* (in the word  $\pi\epsilon\chi\Delta\epsilon$ ) is faint but visible.

5 M. takes this line as referring to the Virgin's despondency or fear of death (as in other versions of the story), but since no subject is marked for the verb  $\bar{\zeta}\rho\omicron\upsilon$ , it makes better sense syntactically to construe the word as an imperative.

7 The word  $\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\gamma$  is written with a digraph for the diphthong *-ou-*.

8 The initial  $\lambda$ - is oversize, extends into the left margin and has a tall vertical shaft reaching up to the top of the previous line. The letter is ligatured to the following *sema*.

9 M. prints  $\pi\epsilon\kappa\tau\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\ldots$ , but the left vertical stroke of the *nu*, as well as the lunate *epsilon* at the end of the line are quite visible.

11 M. prints  $\eta\eta\epsilon\mu[\gamma\epsilon$ . The *sema* at the end of the line is incomplete, but legible.

12 M. prints  $\overline{\text{THPION}} \text{N} \text{.} \text{[}$ . The  $\text{--}\overline{\text{T}}\text{--}$  at a break in the papyrus ( $\overline{\text{NT}}\text{[--}$ ) is slightly damaged but completely legible.

13 The first two or three letters of this line are difficult to read with any clarity. A double *alpha* suggests a form of the verb  $\text{†}$  (= to give), but this is far from secure. Parallel versions have the Christ-Angel give Mary a palm or book at this point of the story. M. reads a *mu* after the *nu*, but the sequence  $\text{N}\Delta\text{C}$  seems more likely. Another possibility would be a form of the word  $\text{N}\Delta\text{I}\Delta\text{T}\overline{\text{Q}}$  (= to be blessed).

## SCENE 6: Gathering of the Apostles into the Presence of the Virgin Mary.

### Col. B iv (↑)

The partial remains of this column mention the arrival of the other Apostles to Mary's side. Quite a few lines are missing before the fragment begins; line 1 corresponds to line 7 of Col. B iii and no bottom survives. The left margin is intact, but there is no right margin. M. printed this fragment as the lower section of her fourth column, but, as the conserved in the Beinecke, it is actually the adjacent right-hand column.

	... ]X[ ...	... ]X[ ...	...
	N̄ĒI N̄Ē .C̄W[	N̄ĒI N̄Ē .C̄W[ ..	namely, the ...
	ΔȲW N̄T̄ĒȲN̄ŌY[	ΔȲW N̄T̄ĒȲN̄ŌY[	And immediately,
4	ĒI C̄N ΔΠ̄O C̄T̄Q̄[	ĒI C̄ N̄ΔΠ̄O C̄T̄Q̄[ X̄O C̄	behold, all the
	T̄H̄P̄ŌY Δ̄ .ĒI P̄Ō[	T̄H̄P̄ŌY Δ̄ ȲĒI <E>P̄Ō[ C̄	apostles came to her (?)
	.. ]T̄ĒN[	.. ]T̄ĒN[	
	..... ] . [ .....	..... ] . [ .....	

1 M. places this fragment last, but, as the papyrus was conserved, this column—the far right column of the "back" side of the sheet—comes second in order.

2 The sequence could also be restored with some form of the verb  $\text{CIN}\overline{\text{E}}$  (= to find), which indeed is what M. prints; but the *nu* just before the *chima* is then harder to explain. M. reads  $\text{C}\overline{\text{W}}\text{[}$  at the end of the line, but the *sema* is quite legible and lacks the long, curved top stroke of a *chima*.

3 M. reads  $\text{]}\overline{\text{W}}\text{N} \text{T}\overline{\text{E}}\text{N}\overline{\text{O}}\text{Y}\text{[}$ , but, as conserved, the line clearly reads  $\Delta\text{Y}\overline{\text{W}}\text{N}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}\text{Y}\text{N}\overline{\text{O}}\text{Y}\text{[}$ . The *alpha* extrudes into the left margin.

4 M. reads  $\text{JON} \Delta \text{Π}\overline{\text{O}}\text{OT} \text{. [}$ , but, after conservation, the beginning clearly reads  $\text{E}\text{I}\text{C}\text{N--}$ . The *sema* in  $\Delta\text{Π}\overline{\text{O}}\text{C}\text{T}\overline{\text{Q}}\text{[}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{O}}\text{C}$  is also quite legible, though the loop is nearly closed. The restoration of "the Apostles" seems secure given the context.

5 M. reads  $\text{JCOY} \Delta\text{Y}\overline{\text{E}}\text{I} \text{E}\overline{\text{B}}\text{[O}\overline{\text{X}}\text{.}$  After conservation, however, the word  $\text{T}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{O}}\text{Y}$  is clear at the beginning of the line, while the letters after the *alpha* are partly damaged. M.'s restoration of  $\Delta\text{Y}\overline{\text{E}}\text{I}$  is good, though her  $\text{E}\overline{\text{B}}\text{O}\overline{\text{X}}$  is less likely (perhaps the reading "they left" was plausible when this was understood to be the final

section of the surviving text?). Instead, the letters *rho* + *omicron* are legible, leading to the restoration <ε>POC.

6 M. prints dots for three illegible letters.

7 This line has one partial letter.

## SCENE 6 (continued): Gathering of Apostles to Mary.

### Col. A i (→)

The scant remains of this column apparently include part of a statement by Christ to his mother (but according to the parallels this is most likely quoted by her). M. printed this fragment as the lower portion of her column III. The bottom and most of the top of this column are lost. The first line of col. A i corresponds to line 8 of the adjacent col. A ii. The right margin is intact, but there is no left margin.

..... ]ϞΕΡΟΝΔ	ΔΥCΩΟΥ]Ϟ ΕΡΟ ΝΔ-	"they have gathered to you,
..... ]ΧΟCΤΗΡΟΥ	ΠΟCΤΟ]ΧΟC ΤΗΡΟΥ	all [the Apost]les,
.. ]ΤΑΘΕΝΤΑΙΔΟ	ΚΑ]ΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΙΔΟ	in the way that I said.
4 ... ]Ε· ΔΥΩΝΔΔΓ	... ]Ε· ΔΥΩ ΝΔΔΓ-	... and my angels
..... ]ΝΔΡΟΕΙCΕΠ	ΓΕΧΟC] ΝΔΡΟΕΙCΕΠ-	will guard the ...
..... ]ΝΔ	..... ]ΝΔ[	..... will ...

1 M. reads ϞΕΡΟΝ Ν[. My restoration may seem overly bold, but it fits the context well: note also col. A iii, lines 5-6 (ΔΥCΩΟΥϞ ΕΡΟΙ). The initial letter could also fit the shape of this scribe's *kappa*. M.'s restoration of ΕΡΟΝ is also plausible, while the final *nu*, though possible, might as well be an *alpha*. The words as restored by M. would then be divided ]ΕΡΟΝ Δ, meaning "(they have gathered) to us," which would certainly be possible.

2 M. prints the beginning as ]ΟC, though the lower half of either the letter *lambda* or *kappa* is clearly visible before the *omicron*. In terms of context, the word could just as well be restored as ΝΔ |ΓΓΕ]ΧΟC (= the angels) as in line 4, but having "all" the angels present is not very plausible.

3 The final *omicron* is legible, though not printed by M., since it follows a repaired tear in the papyrus.

4 M. prints ]Ε· ΔΥΩ ΝΔΔ [. The final *gamma* is legible as conserved.

5 M. does not signal that only the top portions of the letters of ΝΔΡΟΕΙC survive, though her restoration seems correct.

6 Only the sequence ΝΔ survives; another letter once stood to the right, whose only remnant is now a small edge of a line where the papyrus was torn. The *alpha* is not ligatured to it.

**SCENE 7: Mary addresses Christ in blessing.****Col. A ii (→)**

In this longer column the Virgin addresses Christ in prayer. Though the top and bottom are still missing, the right margin is intact here, as is the left beginning as early as line 4. M. prints this section as the top portion of her column II.

..... ] MΔ	..... ] ΔMΔ	..... ] Mary (?)
. . ] ΔCBΩK ΕΞΟΥ	PI]Δ ΔCBΩK ΕΞΟΥ(N)	went in[to]
. ] ΠΕCKOITΩN	Ε]ΠΕCKOITΩN	her bed chamber
4 ΔCCMOY ΕΠNOYTE	ΔCCMOY ΕΠNOYTE	and blessed God
ΕCΔΩMMOC	ΕCΔΩ MMOC	saying,
ΔΕ†CMOY ΕPOK ΠΩΕ	ΔΕ†CMOY ΕPOK ΠΩΕ-	"I bless thee, Son,
ΡΕΤMICE NNΔI	ΡΕΤMICE NNΔI-	Offspring of all the
8 ΩNTHPOY ΠEN	ΩN THPOY ΠEN-	Aions, the one for
ΤΔIΩΠENΔϣ	ΤΔIΩΠTE NΔϣ	whom I became a
MΔN EOIXE	MΔ N EOIXE	place of dwelling.
†CMOY ΕPOK ΠΩ	†CMOY ΕPOK ΠΩ-	I bless thee, the Life
12 NΞ[ . ]ΤΔϣΕI ΕΒΟΛ	NΞ [N]ΤΔϣΕI ΕΒΟΛ	that came forth
ΞI[ . . ]ΠEIΩT	ΞI[ T M ] ΠEIΩT	from the Father ..."

1-2 M. reads ]MΔC at the beginning of the line 2, but -ΔΔC seems just as likely, suggesting the restoration ΔMΔ[PI]Δ ΔCBΩK ΕΞΟΥN (= Mary went in). If M. is correct about the *mu*, then the name would be spelled MΔPIΩΔM, a form that is just as well attested; see esp. Shoemaker, *op.cit.* (above, footn. 3), 171-97. The letter before the word ΔCBΩK has a horizontal stroke as found in the letters *alpha* and *mu*. Though the only other time that she is named in this papyrus, she is called not Mary, but the Virgin (col. B iii 3), in other tellings she often called Mary or Mother of God (Theotokos).

3 M. reads simply ]ΠΕCKOITΩN, but the initial *epsilon* is secure.

4 M. reads ]ΔCCMOY ΕΠNOYTE, but the beginning of the line as conserved is complete.

5 The scribe avoids a hole in the papyrus in splitting the letters thus: ΕCΔΩMMOC.

6 The initial *janja* is enlarged and intrudes into the left margin, marking the beginning of the Virgin's speech. Small hooks in the left margin mark her speech for the remainder of this column. The scribe writes ΠΩΕΡΕ for the standard ΠΩΗΡΕ (= son).

9 M. prints dots suggesting two incomplete letters in the sequence ΤΔI . . ΩΠΕ, but elements of the rounded *shai* are preserved, and so the restoration ΠEN | ΤΔIΩΠTE seems assured.

10 M. reads ΜΜΝΘΟΙΧΕ, but the reading ΜΑΝΘΟΙΧΕ seems probable. The incomplete *alpha* of the word ΜΑ forms a ligature with the following *nu*, very much like the sequence -αν- in the name ΙΩΞΑΝΝΗC (col. B iii 4).

11 The initial *ti* is enlarged considerably into the shape of a dagger and intrudes into the left margin.

12-13 M. reads ΠΩ | ΝΖ [Ν]ΤΑΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ. The restoration of the Relative Perfect I is sound, but the letter *fai* (reading [Ν]ΤΑΥΕΙ) for a singular subject is quite clear. M.'s restoration ΖΙ[ΤΜ]ΠΕΙΩΤ is sound.

### SCENE 7 (continued): Mary addresses Christ in blessing. Col. A iii (→)

This column begins with part of a statement by Christ to his mother, as is shown by the expression "my angels," followed by her response. It is likely, however, that Christ's words are actually being recalled by Mary: "You promised me and said, 'My angels will gather ..., ' and indeed now they have gathered." This reconstruction would not interrupt Mary's monologue. Though the top and bottom of the sheet are missing, the left margin is intact, as is much of the right (lines 4-13). M. prints this section as the top portion of her column III.

	ΝΑCΩΟΥ[.....	ΝΑCΩΟΥ[Ξ ΝΘΙ ΝΑ	'... my angels will
	ΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΜΝΝ[.....	ΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΜΝ Ν[ΑΠΟC	gather with the
	ΤΟΧΟCΜΠΕΖΟΟ[...	ΤΟΧΟC Μ ΠΕΖΟΟ[Υ Μ	Apostles on the day of
4	ΠΟΥΕΙΕΒΟΛΖΝCΩ	ΠΟΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ CΩ-	your departure from the
	ΜΑ· ΕΙCΖΗΗΤΕΔΥ	ΜΑ· ΕΙCΖΗΗΤΕ ΔΥ-	body.' Look, they have
	CΩΟΥΖΕΡΟΙΔΥΩ†	CΩΟΥΖ ΕΡΟΙ ΔΥΩ †-	gathered to me, and I
	ΩΟΟΠΖΝΤΕΥΜΗ	ΩΟΟΠ ΖΝ ΤΕΥΜΗ-	am in their midst
8	ΤΕ· ΝΘΕΝΟΥΒΩ	ΤΕ· Ν ΘΕ Ν ΟΥΒΩ	as a grapevine
	ΝΕΧΟΟΛΕΕΡΕΠΕCΚΑΡ	Ν ΕΧΟΟΛΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΕCΚΑΡ-	is surrounded by
	ΠΟCΚΩΤΕΕΡΟC :	ΠΟC ΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟC	its fruit.
	†CΜΟΥΕΡΟΚΠΕCΜΟΥ	†CΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ ΠΕCΜΟΥ	I bless thee, all blessing
12	ΤΗΡΨ· ΠΕΖΛΟΘ	ΤΗΡΨ· ΠΕΖΛΟΘ	and all sweetness,
	ΤΗΡΨ· ΔΕΜΝΧΑΔΥ	ΤΗΡΨ· ΔΕ ΜΝ ΧΑΔΥ	for there are no
	ΝΩΔΔΕΖΝΝ, Δ	Ν ΩΔΔΕ ΖΝ Ν, Δ	words in ...
	Δ[.]..... ΖΟΟΥ	Δ[Ε] ..... [Π]ΖΟΟΥ	that (?) ... today (?)

1 M. reads ΝΑCΩ. [. The sequence -ΟΖ- is somewhat incomplete, but clear enough to make the restoration ΝΑCΩΟΥΖ sound in context.

2 M.'s restoration ΜΝΝ[ΑΠΟC- is sound.

3 M. reads ... ΜΠΕΘΟ[. The left curve of a second *omicron* is just visible and so the restoration ΜΠΕΘΟϣ is secure.

5 The scribe wrote a colon in the form of a raised point and left some space blank after CΩ-|ΜΔ, presumably due to the change of speakers.

6 The *sema* is enlarged and intrudes into the left margin. Here the enlarged letter somewhat unusually does not begin a new word.

8 The -ΤΕ is faint at the beginning of the line; after a colon the scribe left some space blank before the expression ΝΘΕ Ν ΟΥΒΩ.

8-9 M. reads ΝΟΥΒΟ ΝΕΧΟΟΛΕ, and mistranslates it as "olive tree," but the final *omega* is quite clear.

11 The initial *ti* is quite enlarged and intrudes into the left margin. As in col. A ii 11, the letter has the look of a dagger, though here it is a bit smaller in size. The final word has the digraph for the diphthong *-ou*.

12-13 After each occurrence of the word ΤΗΡϣ, the scribe inserted a colon.

15 M. reads ]... ΠΜ[ ]ϣΟΥ.

### SCENE 8: Peter preaches through the night (?).

#### Col. A iv (→)

Too little remains of this column to be confident of its content. Most of the top part is missing; though the left margin is intact from line 3 on, there is no right margin. Line 1 of this fragment corresponds more or less to line 7 of the adjacent col. A iii. M. prints this materials as the lower portion of her column II.

	. Μ. [	. Μ. [    Μ-	
	ΜΔΥ· ΟΥΝ[ . . . . .	ΜΔΥ· ΟΥΝ[ . . . . .	... There was (?) ...
	ΝΟΥϥΕΔϣϣ[ . . . . .	ΝΟΥϥΕ Δϣϣ[ . . . . .	good. He had (erred?) ...
4	ΝΤΕΘΜΠΜΔ. [ . . . . .	ΝΤΕ ΘΜ ΠΜΔϥ[ΤΜ	... in that place
	ΜΔΥΕΝΔϣϣϣ[ . . . . .	ΜΔΥ ΕΝΔϣϣϣ[ . . . . .	that he might ...
	ΤΕ· ΘΩCΔΕΝ[ . . . . .	ΤΕ· ΘΩCΔΕ Ν[ . . . . .	... And so ...
	ΝΗΒΤ [ . . . . .	ΝΗΒΤ[ . . . . .	
8	Ν. [ . . . . .	Ν. [ . . . . .	

2 The scribe placed a colon after the word [Μ-]|ΜΔΥ. M. does not print the ΟΥΝ.

3 M. must not have seen the left margin of this column, since she prints ]ΙΤϣ. The sequence could also be divided: ]ΝΟΥϣ ΕΔϣϣ[, restoring perhaps [ΝΔ] ]ΝΟΥϣ and understanding the second word as a circumstantial Perfect I (= he (it) is good, he had ...). The sequence Δϣϣ- could mean "he was able (to ...)."

4 Elements of the left side of an *epsilon* are visible after the *alpha*.

5 Perhaps restore  $\epsilon\text{N}\lambda\omega\text{q}[\overline{\tau}]$ , meaning "to/for my errors." Restoring some form of the verb  $\omega\text{q}$  (= destroy) would also be possible.

6 The scribe placed a colon after the word  $-\tau\epsilon$ . M. prints  $\epsilon\text{.}\text{z}\omega\text{c}\lambda\epsilon\text{.}\text{.}[\text{.}]$ .

7 M. reads  $\text{I}\omega\text{H}\beta\text{T}[\text{.}]$ , but a *nu* is secure at the beginning of the line; note the clubbing at three ends of the verticals.

8 M. reads  $\text{I}\text{N}\lambda[\text{.}]$ , and the *alpha* is certainly possible.

## SCENE 10: Christ offers praise to Mary

### Col. B i (↑)

Though little remains of this column, Christ is now addressing his mother directly—though she may have just died. There is no left margin, but the right margin seems to be preserved in lines 2-8. The top portion and the bottom lines are missing; line 1 of this section corresponds to line 6 of the adjacent and better preserved col. B ii. M. prints this material as the lower portion of her column I.

	..... ]N[.	..... ]N[.	
	..... ]z̄M	..... ]z̄M̄	... in (?)
	..... ]q̄λ̄ε̄N̄ε̄z̄[.	..... ]q̄λ̄ ε̄N̄ε̄z̄[.	... for ever ...
4	... ] ΔTMŌε̄BŌλ̄z̄M	... ]ΔTMŌ ε̄BŌλ̄ z̄M̄	... you nourished (me) by
	..... ]N̄M̄Π̄Ω̄N̄z̄	..... ]N̄ M̄Π̄Ω̄N̄z̄	... life
	..... ]Δ̄N̄NŌȲEK̄I	..... ]Δ̄ N̄NŌȲEK̄I-	... your breasts
	... ]T̄Δ̄IŌȲΩ̄M̄N̄z̄H	BĒ N̄]T̄Δ̄IŌȲΩ̄M̄ N̄z̄H-	... from which I fed."
8	..... ]P̄ε̄CC̄Ω̄T̄M	TOȲ. N̄TĒ]P̄ε̄CC̄Ω̄T̄M̄	... when she heard (?)
	..... ]P̄	..... ]P̄	

4 M. does not print the  $\text{z̄M̄}$ ; she may not have seen the right margin.

6 The letters might also be divided:  $\text{I}\Delta\text{N NOY EK I}$ . But word-initial *nu* is often doubled, especially before  $\text{OY}$ , and the final sequence  $-\lambda\lambda\text{N}$  or  $-\text{M}\lambda\text{N}$  is obscure. M. reads  $\lambda\lambda\text{NNOY EK I}$ . As support for my restoration  $-\epsilon\text{K I}[\text{BE}]$ , note the early Christian—especially Coptic—interest in Mary nursing Jesus (see footn. 55).

7 M. does not print the *eta* at the end of the line.

8 The sequence  $\text{IPECC}\omega\text{T}\text{M}$  might also be restored as an inflected infinitive ( $\text{T-IP}\epsilon\text{CC}\omega\text{T}\text{M}$ ), as a Future Conjunctive ( $\text{T}\lambda\text{-IPECC}\omega\text{T}\text{M}$  = "that she hear") or Injunctive ( $\text{M}\lambda\text{-IPECC}\omega\text{T}\text{M}$  = "may she hear"), but I prefer the Temporal ( $\text{NTE-IPECC}\omega\text{T}\text{M}$  = "when she heard") due to the change of person ("she" not "you"). The *tau* in  $\text{C}\omega\text{T}\text{M}$  is oversized with its horizontal bar extending over both adjacent letters.

9 Though M. reads  $\lambda\text{P}$ , the small portion of a letter visible to the left of the *rho* cannot be identified.



## SCENE 12: Christ Instructs His Apostles

## Col. B ii (†)

In the last surviving column Christ gives instruction to his Apostles and then addresses Peter. The bottom and possibly the top lines are missing. There is a left margin from lines 3-12 and a right margin through line 13. M. prints this as the top portion of her column IV.

	.... ]NZEMΠEC	.... ]NZE ḲΠEC	... (?) her
	ω[. ]Δ· ΕΙCΞHH	ω[M]Δ· ΕΙCΞHH-	body (?). Behold,
	TE[. ]KΔ THYTN	TE [†]KΔ THYTN	I appoint you
4	ΕΤΕΤΝΟΜΜΝΤ	ΕΤΕΤΝΟ Ḳ ΜΝΤ-	be witnesses
	PEENETNAYΩΩ	PE ENENTAYΩΩ-	of the things that have
	ΠΕΞΜΠΕΙΕΒΟΧ	ΠΕ ΞḲ ΠΕΙ ΕΒΟΧ	happened in my Mother's
	NCΩMΔNTΔMΔAY	Ḳ CΩMA Ḳ TΔMΔAY	departure from the body,
8	ΔΕΚΔCΕΤΕΤNE	ΔΕΚΔC ΕΤΕΤNE-	that you may understand
	ΕΙΜΕΔΕΟΥΔΠΟ	ΕΙΜΕ ΔΕ ΟΥΔΠΟ	that with her too it was
	TEΞΩWCNΘE	TE ΞΩWC Ḳ ΘE	a birth in the way
	NOYON: TENOYCE	Ḳ OYON. TENOY CE	of everyone. But now,
12 Ω	ΠΕΤPOCCEΠH	Ω ΠΕΤPOC CEΠH	O Peter, hurry up, prepare
	MΔ[. . . ]CKΩWC	MΔ[. . . ]C KΩWC	to bury her ..."
	.....	.....	

1 The first words of this line are quite problematic. The second complete letter after the *nu* is oddly shaped, looking almost like a *zeta*. Yet, the sequence - NZE- makes little lexical sense. One possibility would be the form ḲZE = ḲΔE, but it would be unusual to have this conjunction (more typical of Lycopolitan-influenced MSS anyway) so late in the sentence. Another, and better possibility, is some form of a Greek verb ending in -ίζειν or -άζειν that has been a bit corrupted orthographically during its reception into Coptic, but I have no Greek verb to suggest. M. reads a *beta*, but the bottom curve is not connected with the top half of the letter. The letter *hori* is ruled out because the descender would then curve in the opposite direction.

2 After the letter *alpha* I read a colon, though M. prints an *upsilon*.

7 The letter *tau* in the word TΔMΔAY (= my mother) is oversized.

11 The scribe placed a colon after OYON, and left some space blank before TENOY.

12 M. reads ωΤΕΠPOCCEΠH, which is lexically obscure. The left vertical stroke of the *pi* of ΠΕΤPOC may be faint in the photographs, but it is clear in the original papyrus. The *omega* is oversize and set in the left margin with what appears to be a crown of flame resting above it.

13 M. reads  $\text{JOK } \omega\omega\text{C}$ , but the oval letter before the *kappa* appears not be closed. The word  $\text{K}\omega\omega\text{C}$  (suggested by T. Feinwachs) fits the burial context very nicely. The previous word is likely an imperative form of the verb  $\text{†}(\text{M}\lambda\text{--})$ .

**Table 1**  
**Reconstructed outline of "pre-Palm" or "Book" dormition narrative\***

1. Christ-Angel appears to Mary and gives her a book, and informs her of her impending death; promises that the apostles will be gathered to her; gives her the heavenly garments. Mary takes book to the Mount of Olives, whose trees bow; Christ reminds Mary of his power over the palm tree during his infancy. Mary asks about the fate of the dead, and Christ gives her a prayer to pass on to the apostles.
2. Mary returns to her house, enters an inner room, dresses in the garments, and puts away the book. Mary then blesses Christ.
3. Mary summons her friends and relations, then preaches a sermon.
4. Apostle John arrives, Mary and John discuss her impending death.
5. Mary takes John into inner room, tells him the prayer, shows him her garments, and gives him the book.
6. Apostles arrive, converse and pray, then enter Mary's house and greet her.
7. Mary blesses Christ, then takes Peter and other apostles to inner room, shows them her funerary garments.
8. Peter preaches a sermon on death while they await the morning.
9. At dawn Mary prays the angel's prayer, then lies down to die.
10. Most fall asleep, Christ arrives, Mary blesses him and dies.
11. Christ takes Mary's soul and gives it to Michael, the apostles marvel.
12. Christ bids Peter to bury Mary's body.
13. Apostles lead Mary's body out on a bier, accompanied by the book.
14. Jews attack procession, are blinded, healed by leaf from book, and then are converted.

---

\* This reconstructed outline is the product of synoptic comparison of the following "Book" and "pre-Palm" dormition narratives: Ps.-John's *Narrative* (G 1); Syriac *Obsequies* (S 1); Georgian fragments (I 1, 2, 3), Ps.-Melito's *Transitus Mariae* (L 1), Gaelic *Testament of Mary* (H 1), and the Yale Coptic papyrus. Though the sequence is stable, many details vary (particularly the replacement of the book by the palm).

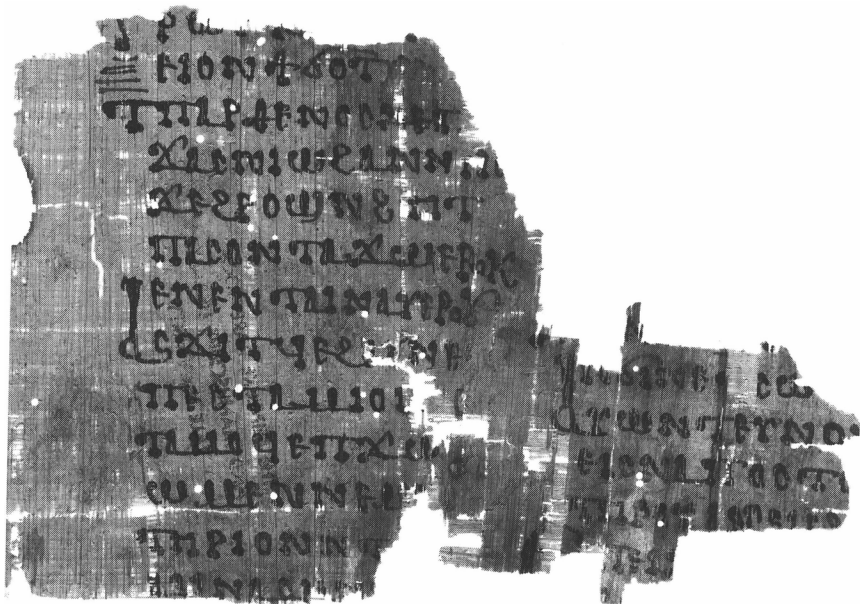
15. Apostles put body in tomb, dispute doctrine with Paul, Christ appears.

16. Michael takes Mary's body and the book to Paradise.

17. Apostles and Mary get tour of Gehenna, Peter and Paul contend with the Devil, apostles and Mary visit the seventh heaven.

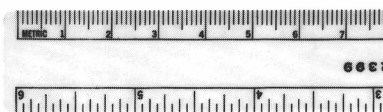
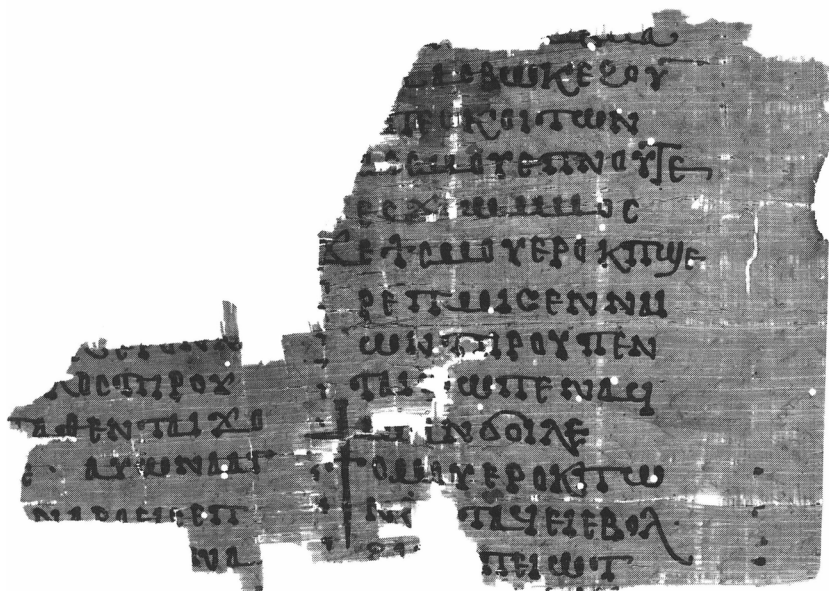
PHILIP SELLEW

*University of Minnesota*

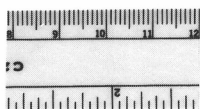
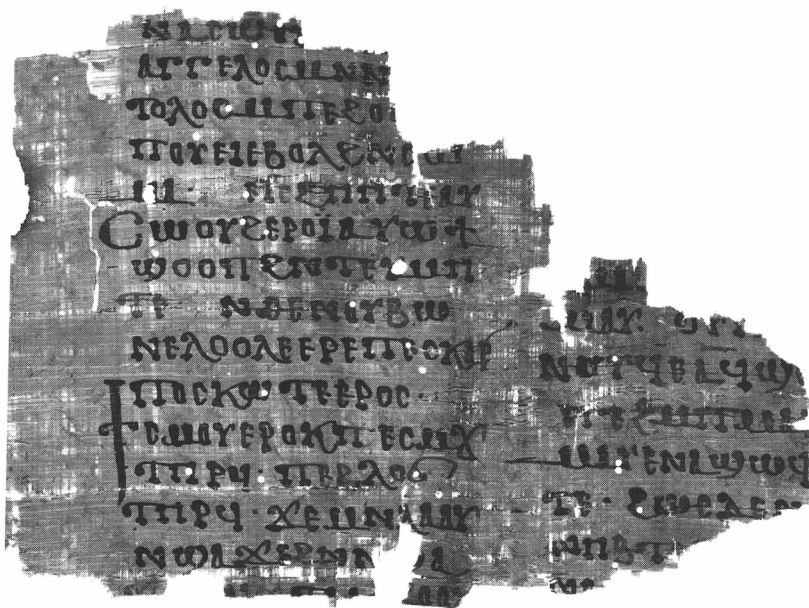


P.CtYBR inv. 1788, cols. B iii-iv

(Photograph published courtesy the Beinecke Rare Book and  
Manuscript Library, Yale University)



P.CtYBR inv. 1788, cols. A i-ii  
(Photograph published courtesy the Beinecke Rare Book and  
Manuscript Library, Yale University)



P.CtYBR inv. 1788, cols. A iii-iv

(Photograph published courtesy the Beinecke Rare Book and  
Manuscript Library, Yale University)



P.CtYBR inv. 1788, cols. B i-ii  
(Photograph published courtesy the Beinecke Rare Book and  
Manuscript Library, Yale University)

## Six Small Byzantine Papyri from the Duke Collection<sup>1</sup>

### 1. Fragment with Consular Date

P.Duk.inv. 1044

3.9 cm x 6 cm

IV

Image: "<http://odyssey.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/records/1044.html>"

The upper left-hand part of a document addressed to a person bearing the *gentilicium* Septimius/-a by another who is a mere Aurelius/-a. Septimi- is addressed either in an official capacity, or as a private person, e.g. as one of the contracting parties in an agreement.

The writing is along the fibres. The back is blank. For the provenance, see below 3 n. The papyrus was acquired by purchase in 1973.

μετὰ τῇ[ν ὑπατείαν  
καὶ Φλ(αοῦίου) Ε[- τοῦ λαμπροτάτου?  
Σεπτιμῖ[-  
4 παρὰ Αὐρ[ηλί-  
πόλεως [

-----

2 φλς

---

<sup>1</sup> The papyri published here are housed in the Special Collections Library of Duke University. They have been studied on the basis of the digitised images (scans at 75 and 150 dpi) and catalogue records available on the homepage of the Duke Papyrus Archive on the World Wide Web; in the case of 1, 5, and 6, I also had access to images of higher resolution (600 dpi).

I am grateful to Professor John F. Oates for encouraging and facilitating my work on these papyri, and to the authorities of the Special Collections Library for the permission to publish them and reproduce their photographs. All dates are A.D., unless otherwise stated.



1-2 The consular formula cannot be restored with certainty. The second consul is a Flavius and his *cognomen* starts with E-. The first, if he was a Flavius, had a different function from the second, although it is equally possible that he was not a Flavius: an emperor, a member of the imperial family, or one with a different *gentilicium*. The hand has a mid- to late fourth-century look, so the chances are that the clause contained one of the consular pairs of the years 347 (Volcacius Rufinus & Fl. Eusebius), 374 (Gratianus III & Fl. Equitius), 386 (Fl. Honorius & Fl. Euodius), 387 (Valentianus III & Fl. Eutropius, a consular pair not yet recorded in a papyrus), 398 (Honorius IV & Fl. Eutychianus); for these consulships, see R.S. Bagnall, A. Cameron, et al., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* (Atlanta 1987) under the relevant years. The text is dated to a postconsulate, hence the possible dates are 348, 375, 387, 388, 399. It seems less likely that the papyrus had a consular formula similar to that of BGU I 316 (359), a text from outside Egypt (i.e. the Phoenician Askalon): ὑπατεία Φλ(αουίου) Εὐσεβίου καὶ Φλ(αουίου) Ὑπατείου τῶν λαμπροτάτων.

3 Σεπτίμ[ι]-: Very few Septimii occur in texts of the late fourth and fifth centuries. This is no great surprise: as J.G. Keenan, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 47, has pointed out, "By the beginning of the 5th century all gentilicia other than Aurelius and Flavius had virtually gone out of use in Egypt;" cf. also *id.*, *The Nomina Flavius and Aurelius: A Question of Status in Byzantine Egypt* (Diss. Yale 1968) 82. Remarkably, all Septimii of this date seem to be attested exclusively in documents from Heracleopolis and Oxyrhynchus, a potential clue to the provenance of this text. The earlier Septimii are Alexandrians or Oxyrhynchites; the date of *O.Douch* IV 426, attesting a Septimius Apollos, is uncertain. The evidence from the period 350-500 may be presented as follows:

*Heracleopolis*: (1) Septimius Heraclides, in *CPR* VI 79 (V). (2) S. Flavianus, in *P.Sel.* 13 (421). (3) S. Ptolemaeus (cf. *BL* VIII 469), in *SPP* XX 146 (V/VI). All three were πρωτεύοντες.

*Oxyrhynchus*: (1) Flavius Septimius Paulus, attested as *riparius*, which indicates that he was of curial rank, in 392-3 (*P.Oxy.* VII 1033, *P.Rein.* II 92). It is likely that he was identical with the *curator civitatis* of 381, even if the latter's *gentilicium* does not sur-

vive. (2) S. Phileas, πολιτευόμενος, in *CPR* VII 39 (405/6, cf. *BL* VIII 112).

Keenan in his dissertation argued that all Egyptian Septimii of the late third and early fourth centuries belonged to the curial class; as we have seen, this also applies to the later holders of the *gentilicium*.<sup>2</sup> Evidently, these were members of old families; it seems unlikely that such a *gentilicium* was acquired later than the death of Severus Alexander in 235. They were probably descendants of third-century councillors, who preserved their ancestral *gentilia* through the changes of the fourth century. That in earlier years several important Roman functionaries were Septimii (the latest attested Septimius of some standing is Flavius Septimius Eutropius, *praeses* of the Thebaid in 389), leaves little doubt about the connection of this *gentilicium* with the old elites of the Empire.

## 2. Dating Clause by the Oxyrhynchite Era

P.Duk.inv. 1142                      7.7 cm x 5.9 cm                      27 November 436

Image: "<http://odyssey.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/records/1142.html>"

The foot of a "short" text: an order to pay or deliver, receipt, etc. The writing is across the fibres and the back is blank. The papyrus was acquired by purchase in 1973.

-----  
(ἐτους) ριγ πβ Χοίακ α [

Year 113/82, Choiak 1 ...

1 For the Oxyrhynchite era and the conversion of the date see R.S. Bagnall, K.A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (Zutphen 1978) 36-42, 81, 97. The only other attestation of

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<sup>2</sup> I take the view that the πρωτεύοντες, whatever their exact function, were *curiales*; cf. I.F. Fikhman, *CdÉ* 72 (1997) 167-8. For a prosopography of Egyptian πρωτεύοντες, see K.A. Worp, *ZPE* 115 (1997) 219-20.

Year 113/82 so far is in *PSI* VI 708.7 (2.xi.436). No other papyrus securely datable to 436 has been published (*CPR* X 114 might date to 436; *CPR* IX 42 dates from 436-38).

The dating clause must be complete, that is, it was not followed by a reference to the indiction, cf. K.A. Worp, *APF* 33 (1987) 94.

### 3. Fragment of Petition with Consular Date

P.Duk.inv. 509

17.8 cm x 9.7 cm

483 or 484

Image: "<http://odyssey.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/records/509.html>"

Of the petition only the foot has survived, containing the subscription of the petitioner and the consular dating clause. The hand displays several features common in Oxyrhynchite texts of similar date, cf. 4, but this offers no secure basis to argue for an Oxyrhynchite provenance.

The text is written along the fibres. The back is blank. The papyrus was acquired by purchase from the University of Mississippi in 1988 (formerly P.Miss. inv. 75).

-----  
(vac.)

Αὐρήλιος Πέτρος ἐπιδ[έδωκα.

† τοῖς μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουίου Τροκόνδ[η τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου)]

I, Aurelius Petrus, have submitted (this petition).

Under the (consuls) after the consulship of Flavius Trocondes, [*vir clarissimus* ...]

2 τοῖς μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν: This collocation stands for τοῖς ὑπάτοις μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν, and is an influence from the Latin, cf. *P.Rain.Cent.* 107 introd. We may compare the formulas of the period 322-24 in Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite texts: τοῖς ἀποδειχθησομένοις ὑπάτοις (322-23), τοῖς ἐσομένοις ὑπάτοις (324) (see further Bagnall and Worp, *Chronological Systems* 108). Ac-

cording to Bagnall and Worp, '[T]here does not seem to be any significance to the very frequent addition of τοῖς before the phrase [μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν]' (*op.cit.* 51). Indeed, we find it with both first and second postconsulates.<sup>3</sup> But the chronological distribution of the formula merits a note. Its first instance in a papyrus dates to 315. Thereafter, it seems to have been used very sporadically until 475/6; in the decade that followed we see its highest concentration. Is this a coincidence? One is tempted to associate the use of the formula with the political instability of the first years of the reign of Zeno, which, as R. Hübner has observed (*P.Köln* III 152 introd.), is reflected in the consular clauses of the period. After 486, it virtually disappears, until it resurfaces in the early 540s in post-consular clauses of Fl. Basilius. In particular, as Worp, *ZPE* 88 (1991) 120, has pointed out, the formula τοῖς τὸ x μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλ(αουτίου) Βασιλείου is typical of texts from Oxyrhynchus (with the exception of CPR X 122, which comes from the Memphite, an area which, like Oxyrhynchus, was also part of the province of Arcadia). But no such regionalism is in evidence in the earlier use of the formula.

Φλαουτίου Τροκόνδ[η: For the consul of 482, see Bagnall, et al., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 499; add *SB* XX 15134. The earliest record for the knowledge of his consulship in Egypt dates to 11.vii.483 (*SB* 15134, although *P.Lond.* V 1896, of 25.vi-24.vii.483, might be slightly earlier); the latest is *P.Oxy.* VIII 1130 (4.v.484). The date of the Duke papyrus cannot be later than 20.ix.484, the earliest record of the consulate of Theoderic in Egypt (*P.Oxy.* XVI 1969).

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<sup>3</sup> The examples: *P.Hamb.* I 21.15 (315), *P.Gen.* I 67.1 (Phil.; 382?), 69.1 (386), *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4388.1 (423), *PSI* I 87.1 (423), VI 689.1 (423-4) [all three Oxy.], *P.Oxy.* XVI 1899.1, 1958.1 (both 476), *SB* XIV 11425 = *P.Palau Rib.* 15.2 (475/6), *P.Princ.* II 82.1 (Lyc.; 481), *P.Rain.Cent.* 107.1 (Hera.; 484) *P.Oxy.* VIII 1130.2 (484), *BGU* XII 2159.1 (Herm; 485), *P.Coll.Youtie* II 89.1 (Herm.; 485), *CPR* V 16.2 (Herm; 486); *P.Oxy.* VI 914.1 (486); LXIII 4394.7 (494), XVI 1891.1 (495), 1985.1 (543), *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67087.7 (Antae.; 543), II 67127.3 (Antae.; 544), *P.Bad.* VI 172.1 (Oxy.; 547). I have not included the instances of the Oxyrhynchite post-consular formula of Fl. Basilius (see above), but it is worth quoting the Memphite *CPR* X 122.3-4 (545?): τοῖς τὸ τρίτον ἐκοιμένους ὑπάτοις μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλ(αουτίου) Βασιλείου; the elaborate phrasing suggests a scribe with archaistic tendencies, or simply a pedant.

At the end of the line, it is possible that the papyrus had καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου, cf. *BGU* XII 2156.2 and *P.Lond.* V 1896.1, both of 483, but the two other texts which have a postconsular formula of Trocondes preceded by τοῖς, *P.Rain.Cent.* 107 and *P.Oxy.* VIII 1130, both of 484, lack the *et qui fuerit nuntiat* formula. In fact, in 482 no consul was proclaimed in the West. I have accordingly decided not to supplement it here.

The name of the consul is variously spelled in the sources of the period. On the spellings found in the papyri, and literature on the name Τροκόνδας, typical of certain regions of Asia Minor, see *P.Oxy.* LXIV 4435.21 n., *O.Claud.* I 84.11 n., II 205.4 n. It seems to me that the consul, a native of Isauria, was called Τροκούνδας, an alternative form of the name. He is Trocundes in *AE* 1969/1970 609, the only inscription which gives his full name, and Trocundus in the fasti of 482. It may also be significant that Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De insidiis* 135, 137, 140 knows him as Τροκούνης.

#### 4. Register of Persons

P.Duk.inv. 467

12.2 cm x 6.3 cm

V/VI

Image: "<http://odyssey.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/records/467.html>"

A fragment of a list with names followed by patronymic and place of origin. Its purpose cannot be determined. The blank space at the end of line 4 may have been the original right-hand margin, in which case this would have been a mere name register, as e.g. *CPR* XIV 36 (VI/VII). It is also possible that the entries were followed by amounts of grain or sums of money, as e.g. in *P.Oxy.* XVI 2019 (VI), or by other details, cf. *P.Col.* XI 297 (IV/V; V/VI ed. pr.).

A point of interest is the mention of the ἐποίκιον Φιλίππου (line 4), which appears to be new. There is no clear indication concerning its exact location. It is curious that we find namesakes of two of the persons mentioned here in two Oxyrhynchite accounts of 557 and 566, see below 2 n. and 3 n., but, in my view, our text is considerably earlier, and this may be a mere coincidence—unless we reckon with a greater fossilisation in this sort of document than present evidence seems to allow. At any rate, the hand does not tell against,

perhaps even favours, an Oxyrhynchite provenance; cf. the scripts of *P.Gron.Amst.* 1 (455) [cf. *APF* 42 (1996) Taf. 38], *P.Oxy.* LIX 3985 (473), *P.Leid.Inst.* 70 (518), and **2** above.

The writing runs parallel with the fibres. The back is blank. This papyrus was formerly P.Miss. inv. 33.

-----  
 ].. [  
 ]. Φοιβάμμων Πέτρου ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ [  
 Ἰω]ϛήφ Πέτρου ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Φιλίππου [  
 4 -]ϛθις Ἡλίου [ἀπ]ὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ [  
 -ο]ν [ἀπὸ το]ῦ αὐτ[οῦ]  
 -----

**2** Φοιβάμμων Πέτρου: A man of this name occurs in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1911.42, 108 (557) and LV 3804.112, 197 (566), but the Duke papyrus is not as late as this, see above introd., and an identification seems difficult. Individuals with the same combination of name and patronymic are attested in other Egyptian localities too.

**3** Ἰω]ϛήφ Πέτρου: A person thus named appears in *P.Oxy.* LV 3804.184, but otherwise there is no particular reason to identify him with our man.

**4** Ἀνο]ῦθις, Παπνο]ῦθις, Σενο]ῦθις.

### 5. Fragment of ὑπομνηστικόν

P.Duk.inv. 1133

5.9 cm x 4.9 cm

V/VI

Image: "<http://odyssey.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/records/1133.html>"

The papyrus was acquired by purchase in 1973. The writing is along the fibres. The back carries the docket, written along the fibres in what looks like a different script. But the variation of styles between front and back is common in letters of this period, and the most economical hypothesis would be to attribute the two styles to

the same person. A date in the late fifth or early sixth century seems likely.

The docket indicates the nature of the piece: ὑπομνηστικ(όν). Several ὑπομνηστικά, all dating from the Byzantine period, have been published. They are mostly private memoranda, but the mention of the *sacrae largitiones* here seems to suggest that the text was official in character. Unfortunately, no consecutive sense emerges, and there are very few clues to its subject matter; it possibly concerned taxation, cf. line 4. It is unclear whether this is a fragment of a *commonitorium*, on which see D. Feissel, I. Kaygusuz, *T&M* 9 (1985) 407-9. I have found only four other official ὑπομνηστικά: *P.Abin.* 42 (342-51), *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67032 (551; the text, which stems from Constantinople, is described as a θεῖον ὑπομνηστικόν), *P.Flor.* III 359 (VI). An ὑπομνηστικόν which derives from a *scrinium* of the *sacrae largitiones* is *P.Mich.* XVIII 795 (V/VI) (cf. T. Gagos, *ZPE* 121 (1998) 144). One may also add *SB XX* 14704 (V/VI, cf. B. Palme, *Eirene* 34 (1998) 105 n.17), which, although lacking a title, displays essentially the same structure as *P.Mich.* 795 (the text relates to a *comes Aegypti*).

The main point of interest is the reference to the *sacrae largitiones*, see further 3 n.

-----  
 ].[ ]λ...[  
 ] τοὺς αὐτοὺς θεῖους .[  
 ] θείων λαργιτιόνων .[  
 4 ] . τετάρτης ἐπινεμή[εως  
 ] . ωσιν πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν λ[  
 -----

Back:

(m.2) ὑπομνηστικ(όν) ὑπὸ ...[

2 The trace does not allow reading θεῖους θ[ησαυρούς. Also, on the edge τ[ύπους cannot be confirmed on the image.

3 θείων λαργιτιόνων: This is the first proper occurrence of this Greek rendering of the *sacrae largitiones* in a papyrus, although cf.

*SB* I 4707.9 (VI) ]ων λαργιτιόνων (cf. *BL* X 180). The loan-word is also attested in *CPR* VII 26 = *SB* XX 14674.23, 36 (V/VI) κόμης λαργιτιώνων Ἀλεξανδρείας. λαργιτιωναλικός is better attested, cf. S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto* (Barcelona 1991<sup>2</sup>) 65.

On this financial department and its functionaries, see R. Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées et res privata* (Rome 1989) parts I-IV (on Egypt, see 185f., 188f.; on the term, 10f.; on the qualification θεῖαι, 18-21).

4 τετάρτης ἐπινεμή[εως may have been a mere chronological indication, but the reference to the *sacrae largitiones* in the previous line may suggest a fiscal context.

5 λ[αθεῖν? Compare *M.Chr.* 77.10 (376/8), 378.10 (376-8); also *P.Ryl.* II 210.12 (259), *P.Lond.* V 1824.10 (IV).

6 ὑπομνηστικ(όν) ὑπό [: The term also occurs in the addresses of a few other texts,<sup>4</sup> but I have found no parallel for this formulation. I would assume that ὑπό was followed by a name.

## 6. List of Items

P.Duk.inv. 1140

11.3 cm x 6 cm

VI/VII

Image: "<http://odyssey.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/records/1140.html>"

Like the previous item, this piece too was purchased in 1973. The writing runs parallel with the fibres and the back is blank. The hand may be assigned to the late sixth or early seventh century.

The text is a list of items, perhaps (to be) bought or transported. It is difficult to determine whether the piece is complete, or a fragment of a longer list. Of the four entries, three offer *notabilia*, see the notes to lines 1, 2, 4.

<sup>4</sup> The references are: *P.Abin.* 42v.18 (342-51) ὑπομνηστικὸν Ῥωμανοῦ δουκηναρίου πρὸς Γελάδιον κοντου(βερνάλιον); *SB* XII 11084v.16 (V) ὑπομνηστικὸν πρ(ὸς) Θεόγνωστον π(αρά) Βίκτορ(ος); *P.Mil.* II 87v.23 (VI) ὑπομνηστικὸν ἀδ(ελφῶ) Εὐγενίῳ π(αρά) Ἰωάννου; *P.Oxy.* X 1343v.1 (VI) [ὑ]πομ'ν'ηστικ(όν) το . . . . One may also mention the *commonitoria* *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67282 (VI) ἴσον κομμο[ν(ιτωρίου)] Μηνᾶς ςι[γγ(ουλαρίου)] ἔνεκεν Ἑρμαυῶτος [Λ]αβ[ωρί(ου)], and *P.Oxy.* VIII 1106 (VI) κομμογιτώρ(ιον) Παύλῳ ςιλλ(αγρ ) ἀδελφ(ῶ) Ναρρωφ[ῶ]τος.



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	[. ]γιν νιτρίν	α
	νιπτηρ( )	α
	χοιρίδιν	α
4	κόλλαθ(ον) κρέως	α
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... natron	1
Washing basin	1
Piglet	1
<i>Kollathon</i> of meat	1

1 [. ]γιν: This may express the measure or container of natron, but I do not know what the word is. *P.Apoll.* 93A.11 records νίτρ(ου) ψι( ) α; the abbreviated word occasionally occurs as ψιν<sup>θ</sup>, but Federico Morelli kindly informs me that in all these cases we are dealing with ψιάθια. He further draws my attention to *P.Col.* IV 113.16 (III B.C.) ] ιν νίτρου, equally baffling.

νιτρίν: Diminutive of νίτρον (νιτρίον; not in *LSJ*); this form is found only in *P.Oxy.* X 1343.7 (VI). The grammar is uncertain; nominative for genitive? But this depends on what precedes, which is unclear.

2 νιπτηρ( ): Rho is intersected by an oblique stroke, which seems to suggest an abbreviation. I have thought of νιπτήρ(ιον), but this is not otherwise attested. I have also considered whether the word is meant to be in a case other than the nominative, e.g. in the accusative; if so, read νιπτήρ(a). Either way, this is the first occurrence of the word νιπτήρ in the papyri.

3 χοιρίδιν: This must have been a live pig. Other lists mentioning pigs include *CPR* X 59.4 (VI), 60.3 (VI/VII), and probably 138.5 (VI/VII); cf. also *CPR* XII 9 (VII/VIII). On pigs in Egypt see P. van Minnen, J.D. Sosin, *AncSoc* 27 (1996) 179-80 with references.

4 κόλλαθ(ον): A dry as well as liquid measure with a capacity of 20-25 *sextarii*: see F. Morelli, *Olio e retribuzioni nell'Egitto tardo*

(Firenze 1996) 85 with nn. 19-20, and P. Mayerson, *BASP* 36 (1999) 83-6 and 87-91; N.Kruit, K.A. Worp, *APF* 46 (2000) 136-8. I have not found it used with κρέας elsewhere. In *P.Apoll.* 93A.6-7 (VII), although κόλλαθα and κρέας occur in the same context, the measure used for κρέας is not the κόλλαθον: γάρ(ου) κόλλ(α)θ(α) β | κρέ(ου) λάκ(α) β (cf. also *P.Apoll.* 94.2-3). But there are several examples of pickled meat measured in κόλλαθα, cf. *CPR* VIII 85.20 (VII/VIII) ταριχ(ίων) κόλ(λα)θ(ον) α (καὶ) λάκο(ν) α (similarly *P.Apoll.* 96.1, etc.); cf. also *P.Apoll.* 93A.15 περιστερ(ίων) κόλ-λ(α)θ(α) β.

κρέως: This may well have been pork, 'the standard meat of Egypt', see R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 29. On meat see further S. Ikram, *Choice Cuts: Meat Production in Ancient Egypt* (Leuven 1995).

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## Judiciary Routines in Roman Egypt\*

### I. Introduction

No one needs to be reminded, surely, that the law of Roman Egypt and its administration have been, *ab initio*, among the most intensively studied subjects in papyrology.<sup>1</sup> With some notable exceptions—in recent years, for example, some of the penetrating analyses by Joseph Méléze-Modrzejewski—that extensive and impressive body of work tends to be technically juristic rather than historical in aspect. It is from the viewpoint of the social historian that the following pages will review some key elements in the administrative procedures encountered by litigants and grievants. Since the papyri come almost entirely from the *chora*, it is the nome strategos and the epistrategos who predominate in the extant documentation illustrating judicial function; comparatively scarce, as a corollary, is the evidence for the high officials in Alexandria, the δικαιοδότης (*iuridicus*), the διοικητής and the prefect. Therefore this paper will concentrate, after a few introductory remarks, on the epistrategos and strategos and their interaction.

Conditioned by modern jurisprudence and working with a kind of *Romanum-est-ergo-rigidum* mindset, many legal scholars, especially in the early years of papyrology, searched the evidence of the papyri from Roman Egypt for the elements of a judiciary complete with clearly demarcated jurisdictions and clearly defined rules of procedure. Instead, as the documentation and the studies increased, they increasingly demonstrated the opposite, giving us a

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\* Abbreviations:

A-C = Barbara Anagnostou-Canas, *Juge et sentence dans l'Égypte romaine* (Paris 1991).

Thomas = J.D. Thomas, *The Roman Epistrategos*. Pap.Col. 6.2. (Opladen 1982).

<sup>1</sup> The accumulated literature of the past hundred years is enormous, as may quickly be glimpsed from the annual or periodic bibliographies in *AfP*, *RHD* and other journals.

bewildering picture of jurisdictions with indistinct boundaries. In cases of assault, taxes and liturgic service, for example, the papyri give evidence of adjudication in some instances by the epistrategos and in others by the strategos,<sup>2</sup> with no indication in the record of the criteria that determined which of them would hear the case.

Documents detailing specific jurisdictions are almost non-existent. A notable exception is *SB* XII 10929, in which M. Petronius Mamertinus, prefect of Egypt in 133-137 C.E., proclaims that he will take direct cognizance (ὁ ἡγεμὼν διαγνώσεται), as court of first instance, in cases of murder, fraud and several other listed major crimes; all others, he adds, may come to him only on appeal. Again, in *P.Oxy.* IX 1185, of ca. 215 C.E., the prefect Magnus Felix Crescentillianus informs the nome strategos that τὰς περὶ γυμνασιαρχιῶν καὶ ἀγορανομιῶν ἐφέσις (*l. ἐφέσεις*) τοῖς κρατίστοις ἐπιστρατήγοις ἀπένειμα. And in *P.Oxy.* VII 1020, Severus and Caracalla reply to a petition from a minor εἰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἡλικίας ἔχει βοήθειαν], τὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς ἀπάτης ὁ ἡγούμε[ε]νος τοῦ ἔθνους[c] ἐκδ[ι]κ[ή]σει, (lines 21-22, similarly 19-20). Those are the exceptions; generally there are only indirect references—when there are any—to jurisdictional competence or boundaries, with no information at all as to criteria determining their separation. For example, in *BGU* I 15 (= *W.Chr.* 393), an epistrategos's subscription to a petition reads ὁ στρατηγὸς διαλήμψεται ὁ <ἀν> τῶν ἐμῶν μερῶν καταλάβηται. In *BGU* II 648 (= *W.Chr.* 360), the petitioner is informed that the strategos τὰ ἐαυτῷ προσήκοντα [πο]ιήσκει, and in *SB* I 5343 (revised edition in *ZPE* 23, 1976, 132 = *SB* XIV 12087) that [ὁ] τι πρὸ[c] α[ὐ]τ[ὸ]ν ἐστ[ι]ν ποιήσκει. But in none of those documents is there any hint of the considerations or criteria on which the strategos will base his judgement or his action.

When the inhabitants of the *chora* sought or obtained legal remedy, it was ordinarily from the strategos of their nome. Most complainants never saw a higher court. Complaints from the *chora* addressed to the provincial authorities in Alexandria were routinely —*sauf exception*—referred to local officialdom. Complaints addressed to the epistrategos were, as we shall presently review in de-

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<sup>2</sup> The lack of clear boundaries is emphasized in A-C, 139-40 and Thomas, 84-6 (on the higher jurisdictions).

tail, routinely referred by him to the strategos of the complainant's nome.<sup>3</sup> Why, one may ask, did complainants or their advisers bother to address pleas to the higher authorities when they were aware that they would in all likelihood end up appearing before the strategos? Presumably, it seems, because they expected, rightly or wrongly, that a strategos would be more responsive to a referral from a superior than to a direct petition from a mere "nobody."

Let us, in Part II and III, review the relevant documents, taking the office of the epistrategos as our focal point.

## II. The Epistrategos Acts by Delegation

As emphasized by Thomas (141-42), the epistrategos was not simply the strategos's superior. There was, more importantly, a fundamental qualitative difference between the two offices: the strategos was a local appointee, usually a Greco-Egyptian; the epistrategos was, like his superiors in Alexandria, an imperial official, a Roman *eques*.

Accordingly, Roman citizens and citizens of the *poleis* would rarely deign to submit their petitions to the strategos, a socially inferior wallah. For example, many Romans, especially veterans, and many Antinoites owned land in the Arsinoite nome, whence numerous residents had been recruited for the citizenry of Antinoopolis at its foundation; when they petitioned the epistrategos in a dispute whose locus was in the Arsinoite, he routinely referred the matter to the Arsinoite strategos.<sup>4</sup> They knew from experience, of course, that that was how the matter would be routed. Nevertheless, it was important to them that protocol be observed: Antinoites and other privileged classes dealt directly only with the epistrategos, the

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<sup>3</sup> Instances of such referrals are listed in Thomas, 150-6 (Table B). The prefect, too, regularly referred complaints to the strategos; cf. further below, note 17.

<sup>4</sup> Examples: *BGU* I 168 (= *M.Chr.* 121), *P.Corn.* 14, *P.Oslo* III 126, *P.Oxy.* VIII 1119 (= *W.Chr.* 397), *P.Wurz.* 9, *SB* VIII 9897, *W.Chr.* 28, *P.Mich.* inv. nos 3000+2848 (*ZPE* 110 [1996] 184); cf. *BGU* I 195, II 462 (= *W.Chr.* 376), *P.Oxy.* IV 718.

Roman official in charge of their area, not the closer but lower official.<sup>5</sup>

Referrals from the epistrategos to the strategos were of two kinds:

(A) By *hypographe* to the petition.

This was the usual response. It might be a curt: ἐντυχῇ τῷ στρατηγῷ,<sup>6</sup> or it might be longer: e.g. εἴ τινα δίκαια ἔχεις τῷ στρατηγῷ παραθοῦ καὶ τὰ δέοντα ποιήσει.<sup>7</sup> Whatever its formulation, the *hypographe* presumably gave the petitioner enhanced standing in his ensuing application to the strategos, but that did not guarantee him a successful outcome.

(B) By letter of instruction to the strategos. (Petitioners routinely requested, but did not routinely obtain, such a result.)

Those instructions were of two principal types:

i. The epistrategos turned the matter over completely to the strategos to settle: e.g., πέρας ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ πράγματι with or without

<sup>5</sup> On the Antinoites' special relationship with the epistrategos, see Thomas, 245 s.v., Lewis, *BASP* 34 (1997) 23-4. The higher authorities observed the protocol as well. Thus, in *BGU* II 448 (= *M.Chr.* 310) a petitioner who is both a soldier and an Antinoite owning property in the Arsinoite asks the prefect of Egypt to order the strategos to proceed with the official opening of his parents' will. The prefect's *hypographe* is ἐντυχῇ [τῷ κρατίστῳ ἐπιστρατήγῳ], and the latter presumably referred the matter to the nome strategos. *BGU* I 361 is the fragmentary record of just such a hearing in just such a case. Again, in *BGU* I 256 ("probably," Thomas, 124 n. 85) and III 747 the prefect refers petitions from, or relating to, Antinoites, Romans, Alexandrians and veterans to the epistrategos; cf. also, *int. al.*, *P.Oslo* III 126, *P.Oxy.* VII 1032, XVII 2131, *BGU* IV 1022, *P.Mich.* VI 422 (on which cf. Thomas, 159 n. 48). Other referrals from prefect to epistrategos are attested in *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3094, *PSI* X 1100 (= *Sel.Pap.* 243), *P.Stras.* 41 (= *M.Chr.* 93), and *P.Thead.* 15 (= *P.Sakaon* 31 = *Sel.Pap.* 262). *P.Oslo* III 107 probably belongs in this list, but it is too fragmentary to allow a firm judgment.

<sup>6</sup> Examples: *P.Corn.* 14, *P.Wurz.* 9; cf. *BGU* I 168 (= *M.Chr.* 121). Similarly in *P.Oxy.* LXV 4481 and in *SB* XVI 12678 the prefect's *hypographe* reads: τῷ κρατίστῳ ἐπιστρατήγῳ ἐντυχῇ. Thomas wonders (118) whether this laconic notation is but the partial quotation of a longer directive, but the frequency of its occurrence argues for its being a complete, routine *hypographe*.

<sup>7</sup> *P.Wurz.* 9; similarly *BGU* II 648 (= *W.Chr.* 360), *SB* I 5343 (revised edition in *ZPE* 23 (1976) 132 = *SB* XIV 12087).

instructions on how to do that.<sup>8</sup> But the documents leave us in the dark as to the criteria that might lead to this type of referral. It may well have been the ordinary routine, absent special circumstances; but in the present state of the evidence that cannot be asserted with any assurance.

ii. The epistrategos gave the strategos a specific assignment of limited scope, for example, to ascertain the relevant facts and report them back to him.<sup>9</sup> Sometimes it was left to the strategos to decide whether the matter had to be referred back to the epistrategos, as in the above-cited *hypographe* of BGU I 15 (= *W.Chr.* 393) ὁ στρατηγὸς διαλήμψεται ὁ <ἄν> τῶν μερῶν καταλάβηται. Nothing anywhere enlightens us as to whether such determinations were governed by certain criteria or left to the discretion of the strategos.

It is noteworthy that most of the extant example of this latter procedure (B.ii.) are in complaints brought by Antinoites. In BGU I 168 (= *M.Chr.* 121), a veteran who is guardian of two Antinoite children petitions an epistrategos to restore to them inherited property that had been misappropriated by a great-aunt. The epistrategos's reply to an earlier petition had been to refer the petitioner to the strategos, who recorded the representations of both parties and sent the matter back to the epistrategos.

P.Mich. inv. 3000 and 2848, in ZPE 110 (1996) 184, is a complaint of *hybris* brought against an Egyptian by a Roman veteran who was also an Antinoite. The petitioner concludes with a request that the epistrategos order the strategos to send the accused to

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<sup>8</sup> Examples: *P.Mil.Vogl.* IV 229, *P.Brem.* 18, BGU I 168 (= *M.Chr.* 121), 194 (= *W.Chr.* 84), *P.Oxy.* VIII 1119 (= *W.Chr.* 397), *P.Fam.Tebt.* 37 and 43, SB VIII 9897. A good example of a detailed instruction is that of *W.Chr.* 28, φρόντισον, εἰ ταῦτα [οὐ]τως ἔχει ... [τοῦ] ἑτέρα ὀνόματα ἀντ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν χρεῖαν πέμψαι (so, too, the dioiketes to the strategos in *P.Leit.* 5 = SB VIII 10196.16). *P.Oxy.* XLII 3027 probably belongs in this list: see there especially note to line 5. In *P.Brem.* 18 the transfer of a case from the epistrategos to the strategos is said to have taken place κατ' ὄψιν, which Wilcken (*ad loc.*) and Thomas, 130 n. 112) are no doubt right in taking to mean that the transfer was effected when the two were present together at the prefect's *conventus*.

<sup>9</sup> A *iuridicus* employs a strategos in the same capacity in *P.Gen.* II 103; see my comment in *BASP* 36 (1999) 5-6.

stand trial before the epistrategos in Antinoopolis.<sup>10</sup> The latter's *hypographe* to the petition reads ὁ [c]τρατηγὸς ἀν ὕβριν γεγενημένην κ[α]τάλαβηται δηλώ[ε]ι μοι. Here the strategos is charged with ascertaining the facts, and with reporting back whether the facts are as alleged in the petition. Beyond that we can only speculate. If the strategos confirmed the complaint, presumably the epistrategos would, as requested in the petition, try the case. But what if the strategos found that the alleged *hybris* had in fact not occurred, or that it had occurred under provocation? Would the plaintiff, a citizen of Antinoopolis and of Rome and a veteran, be content to abide by that finding of a mere strategos, and in a complaint against a mere Egyptian? The contrast in the status of the parties is twice emphasized by the petitioner, right at the beginning and again near the end of his bill of particulars. The chances of the strategos finding against a complainant of such elevated status were probably not great; and in the unlikely event of his so finding, we may suppose that the complainant would not have hesitated—as happened in some of the cases to be cited—to appeal to the prefect.

In *P.Oslo* III 126<sup>11</sup> an Antinoite, appealing, as it seems, against an *epibole* of royal land in the Panopolite nome, asks his *boule* to ask the epistrategos to instruct the strategos to take the appropriate action in recognition of his Antinoite exemption.

*SB* V 7601C concerns an Antinoite who was assessed for sales tax in the Herakleopolite nome. No doubt he petitioned the epistrategos—the normal course for Antinoites, as already noted—for enforcement of his Antinoite exemption, and his case was thence referred to the nome strategos. In this hearing before the strategos the Antinoite asserted that an earlier epistrategos had taken personal cognizance in a similar case and then referred it to the prefect. This apparently convinced the strategos that this case required the attention of a higher authority, and he referred it (back) to the epistrategos.

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<sup>10</sup> *P.Flor.* I 58 has a similar request, but there is no indication of the epistrategos's response.

<sup>11</sup> "As restored, no doubt correctly, by the editors. Lines 12-14 mention earlier delegation of a case by the epistrategos to the strategos" (Thomas, 158 n. 43).



*BGU* I 195 and II 462 (= *W.Chr.* 376), although not related in substance, are alike in the procedure evidenced. In the first, a legionary soldier—hence a Roman citizen—complaining that a piece of land of his had been seized, asks the epistrategos to order the strategos to compel the village presbyteroi to report the facts of the matter *ic τὸ φανερὰν γενέσθαι ... τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὅποταν διαλαμ[βάν]η*. In the second document a Roman soldier owning land in the Arsinoite nome asks the epistrategos to order the strategos to compel his tenants to pay up the rents that they owe, but have withheld. In neither document is the action taken by the epistrategos recorded, but it is more than likely that he acceded to both soldiers' requests.<sup>12</sup>

The rest of the relevant documents involve no assertion, explicit or tacit, of privilege. The referral, epistrategos to strategos, was the usual, everyday routine.

*P.Flor.* III 382 is an important but very lacunose papyrus that cites a number of official pronouncements relating to the exemption from liturgy to which men over the age of seventy were entitled. At lines 50-54 reference is made to an epistrategos who *ἠθέλησεν τὸν στρατηγὸ[ν] τ[ο]ῦ ν[ο]μοῦ μαθεῖν* [. Although the rest is lost, it is clear that the strategos was instructed to find out the facts and, presumably, report back to the epistrategos.<sup>13</sup>

*P.Par.* 69 (= *W.Chr.* 41) is the day-book of actions taken by a strategos. At iii.26-30, where the text is very lacunose, it appears to record that a case was referred to him and he, after holding a hearing, transferred the matter back to the epistrategos because he found the evidence inconclusive (*ἀκέραιον*). This is especially noteworthy, because the reasons for the transfer is rarely stated in the extant documents.

In *P.Oslo* II 17, a strategos, after hearing the case against two Egyptians accused of cutting down vines, refers the matter (back?) to the epistrategos, at the same time instructing the village

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<sup>12</sup> See also Thomas, 112.

<sup>13</sup> The role of the epistrategos in nominations for liturgic service was reviewed by me in *CdÉ* 44 (1969) 339-44 = *On Government and Law in Roman Egypt. Collected Papers of Naphtali Lewis*. ASP 33 (Atlanta 1995) 108-13.

archephodos to assure the appearance of the accused men before the epistrategos όταν διαλαμβάνη περὶ τοῦ πράγματος.

Few details emerge from the badly fragmented *BGU* III 871, but what is clear is that it recorded a petition that an epistrategos referred to a strategos, who later apparently referred it back to the epistrategos.

Similarly, in the very fragmentary *P.Flor.* I 91, a protest against appointment to a liturgy, it appears that the epistrategos(?) is asked to write to the strategos ordering him to hold a hearing and send the accused to the epistrategos(?) λόγον [δῶσοντα].<sup>14</sup>

*P.Mert.* III 117 is a mere fragment from which the only fact to stand out clearly is that the matter, whatever it was, was referred (back?) by the strategos, after a hearing, to the epistrategos.

### III. The Epistrategos Takes Direct Cognizance

In the first half-century of papyrological studies the *communis opinio* was that the epistrategos—like the strategos (cf. above, note 4)—exercised his judicial function solely on delegation from higher authority. Thomas's concluding section (137-42) demonstrates the inadequacy of that view. The following rapid survey of pertinent document fully supports Thomas's judicious appraisal.

*SB* V 7601C, cited above, mentions an instance where the epistrategos retained initial jurisdiction without the intermediary referral evidenced and discussed above in §II.(B).ii. Such action by the epistrategos appears also in the following cases. Nothing, however, in any of these documents enables us to discern what consideration(s) decided an epistrategos to take personal cognizance when he did.<sup>15</sup>

That *P.Mich.* VI 365 belongs in this group of documents may be deduced from such facts as it gives us: The petitioner, an Antinoite, present in the epistrategos's court, asks that the strategos be in-

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. Thomas, 91.

<sup>15</sup> *N.B.* When he heard a case on delegation from a higher authority, the epistrategos may not have had the option of doing otherwise. Such cases—e.g. *P.Oxy.* VII 1032, which came to him from the dioiketes—are accordingly omitted from consideration in this section.

structed to compel the absent accused to appear in the court of the epistrategos, and the epistrategos so orders. The difference between this procedure and what we saw in §II is that there the strategos was called upon to exercise a judicial competence; here, in contrast, the epistrategos, while retaining jurisdiction himself *ab initio*, orders the strategos simply to perform a police function, namely to produce a litigant in his, the epistrategos's, court.

Somewhat similar is the procedure in *P.Oxy.* LXV 4481. The complainant is an upper-class Oxyrhynchite. He had earlier petitioned the epistrategos to recover jewelry and other valuables with which his wife had absconded. The epistrategos had agreed to hear the case, but the wife failed to answer the summons. The grievant now petitions the prefect, asking him to issue orders to the strategos to compel her to appear before the epistrategos.<sup>16</sup>

In *SB V* 7558 (= *Sel.Pap.* 260; revised edition in *ZPE* 13 [1974] 246-8), a Roman veteran and Antinoite petitions for, and is granted, release from a liturgy to which he had been appointed outside of Antinoopolis, in violation of one of the Antinoites' privileges. The fact that there is no mention of a hearing or other investigation makes it seem likely that in this case the epistrategos simply issued a summary judgement in the petitioner's favor.

In *P.Fam.Tebt.* 37 and 43, the petitioners are Antinoites owning property in Tebtynis. The seizure of a slave is the complaint in the first document, a dispute over a debt in the second. In both, the petitioners request that the epistrategos order the strategos to send the accused to Antinoopolis for trial in the court of the epistrategos. In each case the epistrategos so orders, with the following interesting difference. (Whether the difference stems from the substance of the cases or simply from the judgmental style or views of two different epistrategoi, we cannot tell.) In the first, Lucceius Ofellianus grants the petitioners' request in a peremptory order, a prompt and categorical action impelled perhaps by the petitioners' Antinoite

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3364, where the prefect, asked to order the matter to trial before the epistrategos, subscribes instead ὁ στρατηγὸς τὰ προσήκοντα ποιῆσει τοῖς μέρεσιν αὐτοῦ. According to Thomas, 182, this (and not the routing prefect —> epistrategos —> strategos) was "in all matters ... [the] normal ... chain of command;" but cf. above, note 6.

status. In the second, Vettius Turbo orders the accused to stand trial after verification of the facts by the nomarch.

*P.Oxy.* XLII 3064, a private letter, informs us that a number of villagers nominated for liturgic service προσῆλθαν τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ ἐνεκεν τῶν ἀναγραφάντων αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν. It is more than likely that, as the editor suggests, the term ἐπίτροπος (*procurator*) here refers to the epistrategos, who, in keeping with a well-established principle,<sup>17</sup> παραδέδωκεν αὐτοὺς τοῖς κωμήταις εἰς λειτουργίαν.

Another private letter, *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3094, tells a story that qualifies for notice here. An official named Agrippa, unidentified by title, but possibly or probably an epistrategos,<sup>18</sup> delivered a ruling against a woman named Gaia. She thereupon, like the complainant of *P.Oxy.* 4481, above, sent a petition for relief to the prefect, who re-referred the matter to the epistrategos.

#### IV. A Historical Perspective

*Res ipsa loquitur.* Roman Egypt abolished the courts of the *laokritai* that Ptolemaic Egypt had maintained for the benefit of the native population. The existence of a single judiciary provided a single process for all, but that did not *ipso facto* dispense equal justice for all. Roman Egypt was a class-driven and class-riven society. If there ever existed any doubt about that, it vanished with the publication, in 1919, of the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos*.<sup>19</sup>

Human nature being what it is (and was), there were undoubtedly some judges who were profoundly corrupt or easily tempted or bought; but the evidence will not support a broad-brush condemnation of the judges or the system as inherently corrupt or venal. On the contrary, in principle all had equal standing before the court; but the reality was that, in George Orwell's deathless formulation,

<sup>17</sup> Cf. e.g. *SB V* 7696, *Pap.Flor.* 28, 71-2 and 91-2 (= 9, 72-3 and 94).

<sup>18</sup> On this, see Thomas, 209.

<sup>19</sup> Thus, for example, even an ardent admirer of Augustus would feel obliged to write: "The rules drawn up by order of Augustus for the guidance of the official known as the *idiologus*, whose business was to maintain the gradation of classes which still characterized Egypt as it had done under Ptolemaic rule, have been aptly called [by Stuart Jones] an instrument of fiscal oppression." T. Rice Holmes, *The Architect of the Roman Empire II* (Oxford 1931) 16.

some (e.g. Antinoites, and Romans), were more equal than others (e.g. Egyptians). *Egalité*, explained Anatole France, assures—I paraphrase—that the rich man and the poor man have an equal right to sleep under the bridges of the Seine. For Seine, papyrologists read Nile.

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## Brief Footnotes on Banditry in the Papyri

The paper by B.C. McGing, (hereafter M.), *BASP* 35 (1998) 159-83, exemplifies the fruitful current trend in papyrological studies to go beyond the descriptive to the analytical. M. reviews the evidence of the papyri in the light, *inter alia*, of the concept of "social banditry," according to which the brigands of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt were something like precursors of Robin Hood. "They are regarded by the state as criminals, but by ordinary people as heroes, as champions, avengers, fighters for justice ... as men to be admired, helped and supported. Social bandits enjoy the support of their village or local community, and rely on their help. People do not assist the police in catching them, but actually protect them" (p. 162).

From papyri of Ptolemaic and Roman times, M. cites evidence for and against that state of affairs. Some of the opposing evidence adduced is, I think, not precisely on target, viz. the petitions or complaints addressed to the authorities by victims of bodily harm or robbery (or both). "The readiness of the complainants to 'shop' the thieves," (p. 168), when they knew or suspected their identity can hardly, given the circumstances, be taken as a reflection of the attitude or practice of the general populace. M. points this out, but then expresses a distorting—in my view—qualification.

In the first place, these petitioners are special pleaders. Furthermore, the malefactors here are not errant outlaws, but persons domiciled in the same or a nearby community. It is precisely because they are not bandit outlaws that they are sometimes accused of acting ληστρικῶ τρόπῳ. As M. notes (p. 168), "In this type of text it seems certain that the phrase 'in the manner of a bandit' is not a technical description of a bandit raid, but merely a formulaic expression to communicate anger at what has happened." I would add, it is also *ad captandum* language, a cliché emphasizing that the treatment suffered by the victim is highly inappropriate in ordinary, civilized society.

The interpretation of *P.Oslo* II 20 (p. 172), also needs to be slightly retargeted. M. writes, "... it might well be that 'bandit-catchers' could be used to search for tax fugitives as well as bandits ... the step from tax flight to banditry was a small one ... and implicit in this use of a bandit-catcher to arrest someone for not paying his tax." I think not. The quarry of *P.Oslo* 20 was, to be sure, in all likelihood a tax delinquent, one who had resorted to ἀναχώρησις. Such men were immediately proscribed and, if they did not return within a grace period, became outlaws; their principal options then were to seek shelter in the anonymity of a crowded city, or to hide out in the countryside and survive by banditry. The ληστοπιαστής was simply doing his assigned task as defined by his title, bandit-hunting.

Finally, in the case of *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3364 (not 3362), I cannot agree "that at the very least, banditry lurks in the margins of this text." Bandits, with no fixed abode, roved the countryside, making hit-and-run forays of robbery into settled areas. This document tells of a malefactor living openly in Oxyrhynchus, and his alleged offenses are of a different and lesser order, viz. illegal residence away from his ἰδία, leading a "bad life" that has people terrorized, ἀκέβεια and ἀπειθία. Bandits were outlaws, subject to criminal sanctions; here the talk is of fines, i.e. civil penalties.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> M. is attracted by the restoration ληστρ[ι]κοῦ βίου, which J.D. Thomas pondered in the *ed. pr.*, (*JEA* 61 [1975] 208), as a possibility at lines 26-27, but omitted when he republished the document as *P.Oxy.* 3364. But even if we suppose that that was what the unbroken text had, nothing relevant to this discussion can be made of it. In the first place, as we noted above, in complaints that expression is rhetorical and emotional, not literal. Secondly, at this point in the text the complainant is characterizing not the malefactor, but himself, as being, in contrast to the malefactor, a man [κοῦ βίου οὐκ ὦν ἀλλὰ ἀ[πράγμο]νος, (the restoration of the adjective is suggested by its appearance two lines above; similarly, line 35 suggests κα[κοῦ here).

## The Economic Status of Potters in *P.Oxy.* L 3595-3597 & XVI 1911, 1913

The three pottery leases detailed in 3595-3597, cogently analyzed by H. Cockle in *JRS* 71 (1981) 87-97, have illuminated several unique aspects of the industry within a range of some seventeen years between A.D. 243 and 260, if 3596 is dated securely to 255. The three potters holding these contracts produced a total of 27,000 tetrachoa wine-jars typed "Oxyrhynchite" (Ὀξύρυγχειτικά λεγόμενα/καλούμενα) with capacities, as stated in 3595.37, of "20 Maximian kotylai up to the rim." In an analysis of the Maximian kotyla referred to in 3595, this writer concluded that the measure was devised to place the variable Greek kotyla on a one-to-one basis with the Roman sextarius/xestes which would convert a four-choes jar into one of 20 sextarii.<sup>1</sup> Much smaller numbers of dichoa jars and diplokeramia were turned out by the three potters with capacities of 10 and 40 Maximian kotylai respectively, producing a tripartite repertoire of Oxyrhynchite winejars which can be observed in *P.Oxy.* XVII 2153, and to a greater extent in the Heroninus archive.<sup>2</sup>

All three documents record that the potters were to be provided by the lessors with all the equipment and the materials for the production of the wine-jars: the pottery, store rooms, kilns, potters' wheels, friable earth, sandy and black earths, fuel for the kilns, pitch, and water for the cisterns. The potters were to provide the labor. The compensation that the three potters were to receive for their work is recorded at 32 drachmas per 100 pieces for a total of 15,000 tetrachoa in *P.Oxy.* L 3595.20 and 8000 in *P.Oxy.* L 3597.13;

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<sup>1</sup> See my article "The Value of the Maximian Kotyla in *P.Oxy.* L 3595 and *PSI* XII 1252," *ZPE* 131 (2000) 167-9.

<sup>2</sup> See my article "The Monochoron and Dichoron: Standard Measures of Wine Based on the Oxyrhynchition," *ZPE* 131 (2000) 169-72. See also my article (forthcoming in *ZPE*), "The Relationship of *P.Oxy.* XVII 2153 to *P.Oxy.* L 3595-3597."



in *P.Oxy.* L 3596.21 the rate was 36 drachmas per 100 for a total of 4000 jars. Apparently, there was no charge for the much smaller numbers of dichoa and diplokeramia. At the rate of 32 per 100, the potters of *P.Oxy.* L 3595 and *P.Oxy.* L 3597 were to take on additional potters, assistants, and stokers for the kiln(s). The potter of *P.Oxy.* L 3596 makes no mention of other personnel but it can be assured that he took on some additional help (Cockle, p. 91). Production started some time in August following the previous year's vintage and delivery was made in June/July or a bit later in time for the current year's vintage.

The potters of *P.Oxy.* L 3595 and 3597 received 32 dr. per 100; the potter of 3596, 36 per 100. Cockle (p. 96) calculated that the 4,800 dr. the potter would receive for 15,000 tetrachoa wine-jars in the Oxyrhynchite pattern would pay for 400 artabas of wheat at the rate as cited by Duncan-Jones was 12 dr. per artaba—which would support on a subsistence level 9 families that averaged 4 people per family. She admits this calculation is tentative since there was no provision for profit for the potter and the seasonal nature of the work required an increase in the number of workmen hired at particular times of the year. She goes on to say that if the price of wheat is reckoned at 24 dr. per artaba, which it had reached in Oxyrhynchus by 269, the numbers she cites would have to be halved.

Equivalents aside, what hard data can be extracted from the production schedules of *P.Oxy.* L 3595-3597? The rates of 32 and 36 dr. per 100 provide the figures for calculating what the potter earned for producing a single tetrachous Oxyrhynchite wine-jar containing 20 Maximian kotylai. On the basis of 32 dr. per 100, the potters would receive 0.32 dr. per jar, and 0.36 dr. for 36 per 100. In rough terms this would amount to 1/3 dr. or 2 obols per jar. Taking into consideration the complexities of producing a vessel of uniform pattern and capacity, 2 obols per jar is a small amount of money, even though the lessor provided all the physical materials, the most expensive of which was the pitch. Further, some fraction of the 2 obols had to be set aside to pay for the hired potters, assistants, and

stokers. Also to be taken into consideration is the fact that the years 243-260 were a period of increasing inflation.<sup>3</sup>

Looked at more closely, the production of tetrachous wine-jars with a capacity of 20 sextarii, or ca. 11 or 12 liters, was labor intensive and required considerable expertise on the part of the potter and his helpers. The raw earthen materials provided by the lessor had to be processed into clay by the addition of water from the cistern, and the clay had to be "wedged," i.e. kneaded by hand or foot to remove air bubbles and made plastic enough to be worked on a potter's wheel. If the Egyptians followed the practice of neighboring Palestine, jars of the size of the Oxyrhynchite tetrachoa in all likelihood were thrown in two halves, which were then luted together.<sup>4</sup>

After being turned out on the wheel, the wet jars had to be removed to the drying floors (ψυγμοί), where they remained until the clay became leather hard and ready for firing. After the vessels were stacked in a kiln, a stoker had to fire up the kiln to its proper temperature.<sup>5</sup> After the kiln cooled down, the jars were removed and examined for cracks, blemishes, or other flaws, before their interiors were coated with pitch. Those not meeting contract specifications—known by the archaeological term "wasters"—were thrown out.<sup>6</sup> Even pitching was not a simple process since the dry pitch had to be mixed with water, and given its high cost, had to be applied

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<sup>3</sup> Note the comparative prices for smaller jars in A.C. Johnson, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*. Vol. II: *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian* (Baltimore 1936) 471

<sup>4</sup> See B.L. Wood, "Potter's Wheel," and N.L. Lapp, "Pottery," in *Anchor Bible Dictionary* V 427-8 and 428-44, respectively. The Hebrew Bible provides some support (p. 427) for Cockle's translation of λίθῳ κεραμευτικῷ (see *P.Oxy.* L 3595. 8n.) as a potter's wheel. In the metaphor of God as the potter in *Jer.* 18:3, turning out a work on a wheel, the Hebrew word *bnāyim* "a pair of stones" describes a hand-turned potter's wheel in which the lower stone contains the pivot for the upper. Note the Greek of the LXX: ... αὐτός ἐποιεῖ ἐπὶ λίθων.

<sup>5</sup> The Oxyrhynchite tetrachous jar with a capacity of 11 or 12 liters, let alone the diplokeramia of some 20 l., had to be close to 50 cm. in height (cf. *JRA* 9 [1996] 196) and rather bulky, thereby limiting the number that even a good-sized kiln could hold. It is likely that kiln-firings over the year had to be virtually ongoing.

<sup>6</sup> Losses could be extensive as is attested by the large mounds of sherds that are found near kiln-sites that are often located by these mounds.

carefully and with an eye to making sure that the amount provided would cover the entire amount called for by the contract.<sup>7</sup>

Was the earning capacity of the potters of *P.Oxy.* L 3595-3597 unusual for the years 243-260? Three centuries later, ca. 555-57, we have a point of comparison. Two entries from documents from the Apion estates, *P.Oxy.* XVI 1911.192 and 1913.35, show payments to potters at the rate of 1 solidus per 400 wine-jars, or the equivalent of 6 keratia per 100. At that rate, one jar would represent a miniscule 0.06 ker., or 0.05 when deductions from the solidus are taken into consideration.<sup>8</sup> The potter of *P.Oxy.* XVI 1913.51 was paid in kind at the rate of 1/2 art. 4 choin. of wheat per 100 jars, or a total of 9 1/2 art. 4 choin. for 1600 jars. If the rate of 20 art. per solidus in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1911.147 holds for 1913.51—or even half that rate—the amount of money the potter would receive for each jar would scarcely be appreciable.

All told, the social and economic status of potters at Oxyrhynchus was at the bottom of the scale. The two potters in *P.Oxy.* L 3596.3 and 3597.2, n.15 were slaves (ἰδίοι); the potter of 3595.51 was illiterate. Undoubtedly lacking resources, they were provided with all the equipment and the materials for the production of wine-jars. The potters provided the labor and were compensated at less than a fraction of the price of the wine that went into their jars. As far as *P.Oxy.* L 3595 and 3597 are concerned, the term "slave labor" might be appropriate.

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<sup>7</sup> Note that in *P.Oxy.* L 3597.23, the lessor was to supervise the pitching of jars lest the potter use too little or too much pitch.

<sup>8</sup> In *PSI* V 474.6 (VI A.D.) a certain Victor (potter?) from Cynopolis sold 1200 (Samian?) jars to a vintner at an equivalent rate, 6 solidi. He ends with the statement: Βίτωρ στοιχεῖ μοι Σάμια ἈϚ.

## ἐπαλείψομεν in *P.Oxy.* XIV 1631.17 and XLVII 3354.18: "Oiling" or "Sealing"

In the preparation of an article on how jar stoppers (πώματα) were used in the wine industry of Greco-Roman Egypt, I came upon this clause in the two third-century contracts for labor in a vineyard cited above, following a statement concerning the testing of empty jars (κουφα): καὶ ταῦτα (ἅπερ in *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3354) λαβόντα τὸν οἶνον συνθήσομεν ἐν τῷ ἡλιαστηρίῳ καὶ ἐπαλείψομεν καὶ κινήσομεν καὶ<sup>1</sup> ... καὶ παραφυλάξομεν κτλ. ("and we will put these, when they have been filled with wine, in the open air shed (sunning area), and oil them, move them and watch over them ..."). The editor of *P.Oxy.* XIV 1631 translates ἐπαλείψομεν "we will oil them (i.e., the jars)" citing in support *Geoponica* VI.9. The editor of *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3354 follows suit. The phrase "we will oil them" caught my eye.

A more careful reading of *Geoponica* VI.9 will not support the translation of ἐπαλείψομεν as having to do with "oiling" the wine jars (i.e., the smearing of the jars). What purpose "oiling" would serve is not stated. To be sure VI.9, as its chapter heading shows, deals with the smearing of the storage jars (Περὶ διαχρισμάτων πίθων), but the text does not deal with the entire jar from toe to rim. It is concerned only with the mouths (στόματα; i.e., the rims of the jars), and the jar stoppers/lids (πώματα). VI.9 calls for the smearing (διάχρισσις) of the two elements involved in "corking" jars by smearing either the ceramic rims of the jars or the (ceramic?) stoppers with pitch or another substance, presumably to make them impermeable. Note that this process was to take place "after pitching the jars" and "a short time before pouring the must into the jars" (μετὰ τὴν πίccωσιν ... ὀλίγον πρὸ τοῦ ἐμβληθῆναι τὸ γλεῦκος).

Returning to *P.Oxy.* XIV 1631.17 and *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3354.18, we must note the progression of activities called for by the two con-

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<sup>1</sup> *P.Oxy.* XIV 1631 adds at this point μεταδι(ε)ράσομεν "we shall strain (the wine)." This obligation is not mentioned in *P.Oxy.* XL 3354. Portions of this clause are used to fill a lacuna in *P.Laur.* IV 166.

tracts "after the jars have been filled with wine (i.e., with γλεῦκος)": the jars would presumably be moved from the ληνός to an open air shed where the next logical step would be to "smear" them (ἐπαλείφειν). They would then be moved to a storage area and watched over. One additional process is provided for in *P.Oxy.* XIV 1631, namely filtering the wine for lees and other impurities (see note 1).

The verb ἐπαλείφω, literally, "smear on," has to be understood in connection with the "corking" process of ceramic jars. The Egyptian documents rarely provide information on this process, barely referred to in *P.Oxy.* XIV 1631 and XLVII 3354. Ceramic jars, particularly wine jars, were stoppered with bungs or lids (πώματα) made of a variety of materials which were placed in the neck or on the rim of the jar. Some were made of ceramic, but most were formed from a wide range of things such as a mixture of mud and straw (wattle), twigs, leaves, and unfired clay.<sup>2</sup> Whatever was used as a stopper or lid would not hermetically seal the jar; it had to be smeared over with a substance that would seal the stopper or the lid, thereby making the wine jar airtight, or reasonably so, and free from contaminants. This sealing process was indispensable in converting must into fermented wine and in keeping it from turning.

The equivalent of ἐπαλείφω in Latin is *oblino* which, depending on context, unambiguously means "to smear" or "to seal." The verb appears in Cato *R.R.* some twenty-two times, thirteen of which deal with the sealing of jars. In book XII of Columella's *R.R.* it also appears an equal number of times dealing with the sealing of jars.

A more detailed account of smearing compounds that were used to seal jars can be observed in the Hebrew *Mishnah*, in the tractate called *Kelim* (Vessels). Responding to an injunction in *Num.* 19:15 that "Every open vessel which has no covering on it, is unclean," the Rabbinical authorities provided details for maintaining the ritual purity of vessels for wine in accordance with the biblical verse. In *Kelim* X.2 the approved materials which may be used to cover a

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<sup>2</sup> For a general overview of the technique of stoppering and sealing, see A. Zemer, *Storage Jars in Ancient Sea Trade* (Haifa 1977), 94-89 (sic). For Egypt, see H.E. Winlock and W.E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes I* (New York 1926) 79-81; C. Hope, "Jar Sealings and Amphorae of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty: A Technological Study," in *Excavations at Malkata and the Birket Habu 1971-1977* [= *Egyptology Today* No. 2 Vol. 5 (1977)], 3-15; 29-36, Plates I-V.

vessel tightly (i.e., to seal a jar) are spelled out: it may be "with lime or gypsum, pitch or wax, mud or excrement, crude clay, potter's clay, or any substance that is used for plastering." This list is followed by substances which are not approved, such as tin or lead because they do not fit tightly. *Kelim* X.3 describes a ceramic stopper with a finger-hold: "A stopper of a jar that is loose but does not fall out, R. Judah ruled, affords protection, but the Sages ruled: it does not afford protection (because it is loose and not sealed)."<sup>3</sup>

The verb ἐπαλείφω, when applied to substances such as those cited in *Kelim* X.2, conveys the additional meanings of "plastering," or "cementing" in the sense of covering or fixing something tightly. In *P.Mich.* XII 657.15-17, a letter for the purchase of dates and olives, the buyer, using the precise term for the substance, states: "As for the jars of olives, I think that you should securely plaster them again" (κεράμια τῶν ἐλαιῶν οἶμαι σε ἀσφαλῶς πάλιν γυψιεῖν).<sup>4</sup> Sealing with plaster is also specifically called for in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1851.3, a letter requesting a certain Theodorus to "fill one *keramion* of wine and seal it securely with gypsum" (γεμίσαι ἓνα κεράμιν καὶ σφραγίσαι ἀσφαλῶς μετὰ γυψίος ... read: ἐν ... γυψίου ?).

All four documents cited above use different verbs to describe the sealing of jars. What is taken for granted in each is that a jar stopper, lid, or cover (πῶμα) is being sealed with a sealing compound such as gypsum or a similar substance.

As a fitting coda to the use of the verb ἐπαλείφω to mean both smearing and sealing, two Coptic ostraca from the Monastery of Epiphanius remove any ambiguity by using two words for the process. The Coptic in *O.Mon.Epiph.* 253 and 549 is *eusole eutobe*, literally "they being smeared, they being sealed."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The concern that unattended sealed vessels may be tampered with by puncturing the seal, patching it and allowing it to dry, or by applying a new seal, can be observed in the tractate *Avoda Zarah* V.3-4.

<sup>4</sup> *LSJ Suppl.*, citing γυψίζω in *P.Mich.* XII 657.17, has "add 'in sealing a jar'."

<sup>5</sup> I am indebted to T. Wilfong for clarifying what appeared in *The Monastery of Epiphanius* I, p. 79 n. 2 and the comments on *O.Mon.Epiph.* 253 + 549.

## Standardization of Wine Measures at Oxyrhynchus in the Third Century A.D. and its Extension to the Fayum

Explicit evidence for a set of standards in the economy of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt is virtually non-existent given the number of ways in which measures were expressed. The classic example is reflected in the bewildering variety of named measures for an artab of grain.<sup>1</sup> In effect, there was no standard within a nome or between nomes. There is, however, one well-known document of the third century, *P.Oxy.* L 3595, that set a standard for the precise capacity of wine-jars in Oxyrhynchus, a standard that was borrowed by the estate owners in the Fayum. Had 3595 not come to light, we would still be in the dark about their capacity and would have to rely on estimates based on insubstantial evidence.

In *JRS* 71 (1981) 87-97, H. Cockle published a seminal article on pottery manufacture in Roman Egypt derived from the documentary evidence of three pottery leases. Later published as *P.Oxy.* L 3595-3597, their dates range between 219/55 and 260 A.D. Of the three, 3595, dated to 243, is the most detailed. It called for the production of 15,000 "jars known as Oxyrhynchite tetrachoa (line 10: κοῦφα Ὀξυρυγχειτικὰ τετάρχ[ο]α [read: τετράχοα] λεγόμενα), 150 diplokeramia and 150 dichoa." Among other considerations, the potter guaranteed handing over to the purchaser "each tetrachoun holding up to the rim (of the jar) 20 Maximian kotylai" (lines 36-8: ἐκάστου τετραχόου χωροῦντος μέχρι χεῖλου κοτύλας Μαξιμιανὰς εἰκοσι).

*P.Oxy.* L 3596 and 3597 have production schedules similar to 3595 in terms of the ratio of tetrachoa to dichoa and diplokeramia, but no mention is made of tetrachoa holding "20 Maximian kotylai." The only other document from Oxyrhynchus citing "Maximian

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<sup>1</sup> See P. Mayerson, "The Sack (Cάκκος) in the Artaba Writ Large," *ZPE* 122 (1998) 189-90.

kotylai" is found in *PSI* XII 1252, a receipt for the purchase of wine in advance in which the vintner states that he would provide "200 jars of wine each containing 15 kotylai (measured) by the Maximian kotyla, in jars which are termed 'Oxyrhynchite tetrachoa' " (lines 8-11: κεραμίων ἑκατὸν δύο ἀνὰ κοτύλας δεκαπέντε Μαξιμιανῇ κοτύλῃ, ἃ ἔστιν τετράχοα Ὀξυρυγχεϊτικὰ [λεγ]όμενα ...).

The 20 Maximian kotylai in *P.Oxy.* L 3595 and the 15 in the *PSI* text proved a stumbling block in attempting to rationalize the difference in the two numbers. Cockle (p. 95) cites with reservation Segrè's figure of 19.41 for a tetrachoun keramion from Oxyrhynchus which would make the Maximian kotyla of *PSI* XII 1252  $1/15$  of 19.41 or 1.294 liters. Since *P.Oxy.* L 3595 calls for 20 Maximian kotylai, she could not accept Segrè's figure and "strongly suggests that the chous was of variable capacity, sometimes defined by reference to a measure of fixed capacity."

The apparent difficulty in reconciling these two documents rests not so much on the differing numbers of Maximian kotylai, but in their character and context. *P.Oxy.* L 3595 is a contract that spells out in fine detail the production of empty (κοῦφα) jars and the exact capacity of each jar turned out by the potter, namely 20 Maximian kotylai. *PSI* XII 1252, on the other hand, is a receipt for the sale of wine, in which the vintner attests that he will provide the purchaser 200 tetrachoa jars of the Oxyrhynchite type, each jar containing "up to 15 Maximian kotylai." In other words, the vintner was only obliged to put "up to (ἀνὰ) 15 Maximian kotylai" in a jar that could hold 20. Unlike the potter who was dealing with the capacity of the jar, the vintner was concerned with what he was to decant into each jar (ἀνὰ κοτύλας δεκαπέντε Μαξιμιανῇ κοτύλῃ).

Once *PSI* XII 1252 is removed from the equation, the difficulty of reconciling the two documents is resolved and we are left with the 20 Maximian kotylai of *P.Oxy.* XII 3595 as the figure for determining the capacity of a single unit of an Oxyrhynchite tetrachoun, and by extension the dichoa and diplokeramia of all three pottery leases. For the Maximian kotyla, I have estimated that each was double or somewhat more than the nominal kotyla, depending on which of the wide-ranging values for the kotyla was used in the calculation. In effect, each Maximian kotyla was the equivalent of a



sextarius/ xestes, or between c. 0.528 or 0.6 liters.<sup>2</sup> Each tetrachoun would therefore hold the equivalent of 20 xestai, the diplokeramion 40, the dichoun 10.

If the above analysis holds, the tetrachoa termed Oxyrhynchite, and related dichoa and diplokeramia, are unique in the repertoire of Egyptian wine-jars in that they were manufactured so as to be recognized by their shape or some other characteristic as "Oxyrhynchite" and, hence, were known to have a specific capacity. Taking this one step further, these three types of Oxyrhynchite jars in the third century became a standard for the wine containers and were produced in a ratio similar to that shown in *P.Oxy.* L 3595.

On the basis of the above, the following picture emerges:

	<i>dichoa</i>	<i>tetrachoa</i>	<i>diplokeramia</i>
<i>P.Oxy.</i> L 3595	150	15,000	121
<i>P.Oxy.</i> L 3596	35	8,000	100
<i>P.Oxy.</i> L 3597	15	4,000	100
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVII 2153 <sup>3</sup>	37	5,132	121
<i>SB</i> XIV 12107.20 <sup>4</sup>	--	720 & 847	10 & 10
<i>P.Princ.</i> III 153 <sup>5</sup>	2	19 & 288	--

<sup>2</sup> See my article, "The Value of the Maximian Cotyla in *P.Oxy.* L 3595 and *PSI* XII 1252," *ZPE* 131 (2000) 167-9. In simpler terms, the Maximian doubled the nominal kotyla, which was viewed as half a sextarius, to make one sextarius.

<sup>3</sup> See my forthcoming article, "The Relationship of *P.Oxy.* XVII 2153 to *P.Oxy.* L 3595-3597."

<sup>4</sup> *P.Mich. Inv.* 347 edited by H.C. Youtie, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 129-32 = *SB* XIV 12107. The document reported on the production of two pressing floors that were "bottled" in ( )χ( ) and διπ( ). Influenced by the appearance of (τετρά)χ(ωρα) in a number of other documents, Youtie accordingly resolved the contraction in that manner. The proposal to correct the resolutions to (τετρά)χ(οα) and δι(πλοκέρραμα) was made by H. Cockle in the publication of *P.Oxy.* L 3595, note to lines 10-12; see also N. Kruit and K.A. Worp, *APF* 45 (1999) 110. The Michigan text is of Oxyrhynchite origin and is prosopographically linked to *P.Oxy.* XLI 2986 and to *P.Oxy.* I 159; see *BASP* 31 (1994) 18.

<sup>5</sup> A letter concerning the location of jars of wine. The document is dated paleographically to the second or third century, but most likely should be the third.

The popularity of the Oxyrhynchite jar spread to other nomes as a standard type or measure. A brief mention crops up in *P.Tebt.* II 342, a report of confiscated property in the Hermopolite nome in which a pottery was leased to a potter under certain conditions. He was to deliver every year X number of jars "in the pattern of Oxyrhynchite potteries" (line 23: τύπων Ὀξυρυγχ(εῖτη)); and in addition, for a price X, "2000 top-quality jars in the aforementioned pattern" (line 25: κοῦφα ἀρεστὰ τῷ προκ(εμμένῳ) ἀριθ(μῶ) Ὑ).

The Oxyrhynchite innovation made its greatest impact on the Arsinoite nome, as reflected particularly in the estate records of the Heroninus archive. There, the administrators adopted the trikeramia measuring system of Oxyrhynchus and, for their own purposes, used one of its measures as the basis for creating a three-fold system for calculating quantities of wine. The production of wine in terms of jars and measures in the numerous documents of the estate archives are enumerated in terms of the Oxyrhynchition (Ὀξυρυγχίτιον), the monochoron (μονόχωρον), and the dichoron (δίχωρον), all three, as in Oxyrhynchus, with a quantitative relationship one to the other.

The quantitative relationship has been well established, primarily in a note to line 79 of *P.Lond.* III 1170 (p. 195) where the editor states that the monochoron was the equivalent to 1.5 Oxyrhynchitia, that the dichoron equaled 2 monochora or 3 Oxyrhynchitia, and that a donkey load was 8 monochora or its equivalent. What was not known was the precise quantity that these terms represented or the value for the smallest component, the Oxyrhynchition, to which the other terms were related. D. Rathbone, in his study of the Heroninos archive and related documents, arrived at a working number of 7 liters per monochoron by assuming that 8 monochora jars of wine were the maximum number possible for a donkey load, less 35% to account for the weight of the empty jars.<sup>6</sup>

The Oxyrhynchition brings us back to *P.Oxy.* L 3595 and the value for a Maximian kotyla as the equivalent, or near equivalent, of a sextarius/xestes of ca. 0.6 l. or somewhat less. The Oxy-

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<sup>6</sup> *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in the Third Century A.D. Egypt* (Cambridge 1991) 468-70.

rhynchite dichoun of *P.Oxy.* L 3595 and the Fayum Oxyrhynchition (keramion) both stand in the same position in the triad of measures at both sites, namely, that each is smallest in size and capacity. The Oxyrhynchition accordingly would hold 10 xestai, the monochoron 15, and the dichoron 30. The monochoron in the Fayum documents, however, was viewed not only as a container for a specific quantity of wine, but also as a record-keeping term for aggregate quantities of wine expressed as "monochora." To illustrate, we can speak of gallon jugs of wine, but the production of a winery may be calculated as thousands of gallons without reference to whether the wine was to be put in jugs, bottles, or barrels.<sup>7</sup>

To sum up: there appears to have been a movement in third-century Oxyrhynchus to bring local wine measures in line with the Roman sextarius by creating the Maximian kotyla with a value of twice or somewhat more than a nominal Greek kotyla. Two additional creative steps were taken. The production of wine jars were standardized in terms of specific capacity (10, 20 and 40 xestai) and in terms of size (dichoa, tetrachoa, double tetrachoa). The Oxyrhynchus standard spread to the Fayum where estate owners, for their own purposes, adopted the Oxyrhynchite dichoun or which to base their own tripartite system of measures and a system for calculating aggregate quantities of wine.

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<sup>7</sup> See my article, "The Monochoron and Dichoron: Standard Measures of Wine Based on the Oxyrhynchition," *ZPE* 131 (2000) 169-72.

## Youtie's "Guidelines"

Among the papers left behind by my teacher and colleague, the late Pieter J. Sijpesteijn (†1996), I came across a note unmistakably written by the hand of the late Herbert C. Youtie (†1980).<sup>1</sup> There is no date on it. The paper is inscribed on both sides with black ballpoint ink, some words being underlined with red.<sup>2</sup> On the "front" side the name of Piet in the first line stands out in *ekthesis*. On this side two words have been cancelled visibly (cf. ll. 4, 14),<sup>3</sup> while on the "back" another word has been corrected in a similar manner (cf. l. 16). In the transcript given below I have copied Youtie's blank lines. I think that the text may date from the time of Piet's first visit to Youtie in Ann Arbor in the year 1975, where he started working, among other projects, on his edition of the Aphrodite papyri in the University of Michigan Collection (*P. Mich. XIII*).<sup>4</sup> It may, however, also have been written slightly earlier, i.e. in the previous year 1974;<sup>5</sup> in that case the sheet came to Piet via correspondence with Youtie.<sup>6</sup>

It is no secret that Piet was deeply impressed by Youtie's productive and learned scholarship.<sup>7</sup> After his teacher at Leiden University, Prof. Bernhard A. van Groningen (Piet's "Doktorvater"),

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<sup>1</sup> I am very grateful to Piet's wife, Mrs. E.A. Sijpesteijn-Moen, who kindly invited me to help her sorting out Piet's papers and gave me permission to publish this item.

<sup>2</sup> The relevant words in question are underlined below.

<sup>3</sup> This is indicated below by the use of [ ] familiar to papyrologists.

<sup>4</sup> There and then he also prepared for the first time some Michigan papyri for publication in article form; cf. his paper, "Two Papyri from the Michigan Collection," *BASP* 12 (1975) 93-6.

<sup>5</sup> Compare the last paragraph in Youtie's note with the publication year of Piet's first article on the subject of mummy labels, i.e. his, "Four Mummy-Labels in the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden," *OMRO* 55 (1974) 221-4.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the preface to *P.Theon*, vi [dated "December 1974"].

<sup>7</sup> For Piet—and not only for him—Youtie's *Scriptiunculae* and *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* (published by A.M. Hakkert [Amsterdam 1973-5] and by R. Habelt [Bonn 1981-2], respectively) formed a continuous source of information and inspiration. Of course, these works retain their value today as well.

he came to regard Youtie as his second most influential teacher.<sup>8</sup> Apparently, Piet was much inspired especially by Youtie's long running series of critical notes on papyri and ostraka.<sup>9</sup> One gets the impression that, on his own initiative, Piet made a first attempt to write a similar type of paper and presented a draft to Youtie for critical advice. Youtie then kindly wrote a set of guidelines for the benefit of his pupil from the Low Countries. These guidelines provide, of course, insight into what Youtie<sup>10</sup> regarded essential for this kind of scholarly paper.

**("Front" side):**

"Piet: Some guidelines for the construction of critical notes.

*Critical notes should take the reader by the hand and guide him like a child through all the steps that he must make*

- 4 *in order to move [from] <sup>with</sup> intelligence from what is false to what is true. It should in no instance be necessary for the reader to consult the edition in order to understand one of your notes. You should in each note say enough about the*
- 8 *nature of the text to be discussed so that the reader feels that he has a sufficient background to grasp the significance of your correction. Each note should have a literal citation of the passage for which you will propose a correction. And*

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. the dedication of *P. Mich.* XIII printed on p. vii, and the "Preface" to the volume, esp. pp. xi-xii. At the same time, one should not underestimate the importance of the first instruction "in rebus papyrologicis" given to Piet especially by van Groningen's collaborator, the late Dr. Ernst Boswinkel. In later years, Piet was rather (perhaps one should say: "too") silent about Boswinkel's role as his teacher. I have seen, however, a few post cards sent by Piet from Vienna (working there on papyrus texts for his dissertation) to Boswinkel at Leiden University. From these it appears that Boswinkel played a substantial role in Piet's development as a future papyrologist (I am grateful to Boswinkel's wife, Mrs. G. Boswinkel-Huizinga, for making this material available to me).

<sup>9</sup> See, e.g., the "Table of Contents" printed in Youtie's *Scriptiunculae* I, 7-8.

<sup>10</sup> Surely one of the most authoritative papyrologists working during the half century 1930-1980.

- 12     *wherever a parallel exists, it should be used to confirm your correction.*

*You should [it] make it quite clear to the reader whether the  
(over)"*

**("Back" side)**

*"correction has been verified on the papyrus, and by whom.*

- 16     *The reader requires this (corr. < "the") guarantee of competence.*

*When you cite passages from papyrus texts, be sure to give the line-reference. The reader will cool off quickly if he has to search texts of 50, 60 or more lines in order to locate a few words.*

- 20     *Make sure of your accents at all times. Nothing so quickly repels a Greek scholar as false accents.*

*Anyone who attempts to correct a mummy label, must check Boyaval's numerous notes in ZPE."*

If any additional comment to these guidelines is needed, a lapidary "Praecepta manent" should suffice. Some of the instructions given by Youtie may look now rather self-evident (especially with the benefit of hindsight); obviously, however, they were not so at the time of Piet's first encounter with Youtie.

In general it would seem to me that for every papyrologist interested into the history of our discipline this "glimpse behind the veil" is interesting. Moreover, it will *always* be useful to keep these guidelines of a great, experienced papyrologist in mind; hence, their posthumous publication.

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Piet: Some guidelines for the construction of critical notes.

Critical notes should take the reader by the hand and guide him like a child through all the steps that he must make in order to move ~~from~~ <sup>with</sup> intelligence from what is false to what is true. It should in no instance be necessary for the reader to consult the edition in order to understand one of your notes. You should in each note say enough about the nature of the text to be discussed so that the reader feels that he has a sufficient background to grasp the significance of your correction. Each note should have a literal citation of the passage for which you will propose a correction. And where, a parallel quote, it should be used to confirm your correction.

You should ~~make~~ make it quite clear to the reader whether the  
(over)

corrector has been verified on the papyrus, and by whom.  
The reader requires this guarantee of competence.

When you cite passages from papyrus texts, be sure to give the line-references. The reader will cool off quickly if he has to search texts of 50, 60 or more lines in order to locate a few words.

Make sure of your accents at all times. Nothing so quickly repels a Greek scholar as false accents.

Anyone who attempts to correct a mummy-label, must check Boyaval's numerous notes in ZPE.





# Materials for a History of the Human Body in Egypt and the Graeco-Roman World

## PREFACE

The papers that follow are part of a project intended to survey understandings of the human body in ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean cultures, in reaction to the relative lack of such material in the groundbreaking survey *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, ed. M. Feher, (New York 1989). Contributors were referred for general ideas to the *Fragments...* volumes, as well as Roy Porter's important survey "History of the Body" in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. P. Burke (University Park PA 1990) 206-32. The papers for this projected volume were begun in 1993 and essentially finished in 1997. Various complications, however, led to the abandonment of the project and the subsequent solicitation of these papers by the editor of *BASP*. The authors of these papers have carried out recent minor revisions to bring their articles up to date, but in the interest of timely publication, none are substantially altered from their 1997 versions.

The acceptance of "the body" as a subject for scholarly inquiry make it unnecessary to preface these papers with a justification, but it is appropriate to note the relevance and potential interest of these papers for readers of *BASP*. Of the collection, David Brakke's essay covers eastern Christian sources, particularly concentrating on Coptic and Syriac texts. John McVay's article will help readers to situate the earlier papers within their wider Graeco-Roman and early Christian contexts. Readers of *BASP* will find Emily Teeter's paper on the human body in pharaonic Egyptian sources to be a useful survey of material from dynastic Egypt, as well as a guide to indigenous attitudes towards the body that survived into the Graeco-Roman period. Finally, Lynn Meskell's essay, in addition to its challenging and provocative observations on the body in Egyptian archaeology, provides a useful introduction to the extensive theoretical literature that has appeared in recent years on the body and related topics.

Traianos Gagos, Editor-in-Chief

## The Body in Early Eastern Christian Sources

Early Christians believed that, in first-century Palestine, God's Son took on a human body, in which he suffered and died, and with which he was raised from the dead and taken up to heaven to sit at God's "right hand." Moreover, they thought that this Son of God, the Christ, would return to earth, at which time the bodies of dead human beings would be resurrected, transformed, and assigned to either hellish torment or heavenly bliss. In the meantime, Christians formed small communities that they called "the body of Christ" and celebrated, among other rituals, a meal in which they ate bread, also designated "the body of Christ." To be sure, Christians argued about nearly every one of these points, asking whether the body that Jesus assumed was of the same flesh as that of other human beings or was merely "apparent," what kind of bodies resurrected Christians would have, precisely how the bread of their meals could be Christ's body, and so on. Nonetheless, a fascination with and symbolization of the human body formed a distinctive feature of early Christian thought and practice. Thus, when the historian of the human body approaches early Christian materials, the dilemma is not where to find relevant sources, but which sources, if any, to exclude.

Consider, for example, the earliest surviving Christian writings: the letters of Paul the apostle, written in the 50's, some twenty years after the crucifixion of Jesus. His first extant letter, now called First Thessalonians, is a paraenetic epistle, concerned mainly to encourage recent converts in the face of "pressure" from outsiders (1 Thess. 1:6). In the course of his exhortation, Paul reminds the Thessalonian Christians of his teaching on marriage, which he presents as the need for every male "to acquire his own vessel in holiness and honor" and so not "defraud a brother" (1 Thess. 4:3-6). Here a seemingly unexceptional recommendation of marital monogamy carries with it a certain figuring of the female body as a "vessel": a passive, receptive container, which men can "acquire"

either honorably or by swindling another male of his property, as it were. Behind this language must lie one ancient notion of the female body as contributing nothing to reproduction, but merely functioning as a fertile place of growth for the male seed (Yarbrough 1985).<sup>1</sup>

Paul's construction of the body became much more complex through his tortured correspondence with his congregation in Corinth. The body is the single thread that ties together the diverse problems addressed by Paul in 1 Corinthians 5-15 (incest, prostitution, marriage vs. virginity, eating meat sacrificed to idols, worship practices, the resurrection): at one point he adduces the seemingly universal human propensity to cover the genitals as a guide to how to balance competing claims to status in a Christian congregation (1 Cor. 12:22-24; Martin 1991).

Paul's thought on the body reaches its most profound and most opaque in 2 Corinthians, where in Platonizing fashion he calls the body a mere "tent" housing the true self (2 Cor. 5:2), yet insists (as no Platonist would) that it is precisely "in our bodies" that Christians make "visible" the "life of Jesus" (2 Cor. 4:10). Only recently have scholars begun to interpret Paul's talk about the body not merely as a philosophical anthropology (in Paul's view, do human beings *have* a body, or is it more accurate to say that the human being *is* a body?), but also as a social, political, and cultural construction (how does Paul's language define the social body of the church and shape the individual's experience of his or her actual body?).<sup>2</sup>

When we turn to early Christian writings that postdate the New Testament, the number and complexity of the sources available can be overwhelming, even should we limit our discussion to sources preserved in the "eastern" languages (Coptic, Syriac, Armenian, and the others). Here the historian of the body would be

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<sup>1</sup> The anonymous author of Hebrews held the opposite view, that the woman does contribute her own seed; see van der Horst 1990.

<sup>2</sup> The classic and still instructive discussion of Paul's "anthropological concepts," including *cōma* ("body"), is Bultmann 1951-55, 1.191-227. For more recent discussions, see Meeks 1983, 97-103, and Meeks 1993, 130-49; Neyrey 1990, esp. 102-46; and Martin 1995.

wise not to dismiss any early Christian writing as devoid of interest for the subject before examining it closely for references to such "somatic" topics as the humanity of Christ, the creation of the first human beings, the meaning of the Eucharist, ascetic behaviors of lay and monastic Christians, and the like. The historian must be careful to place each writing in its proper context and to interpret its discourse about the body within its particular culture. In the case of Christian literature in eastern languages, for example, one may be dealing not with a "Coptic" or "Syriac" milieu, but with a "Greek" one, since many of our most important and interesting eastern sources are actually translations of writings first composed in Greek (the Nag Hammadi manuscripts, for instance). Even an originally Coptic work most likely originated in a bilingual environment in which Greek philosophical concepts may have been as influential as "native Egyptian" traditions. One must also be alert to the extreme diversity of Christian modes of spirituality, even within cultural complexes that from the outside may look rather monochromatic. And, to return to where this paragraph began, the historian must not limit his study to certain genres or to works that make the body a central concern: even a sermon on angels can construct an image of the human body, as we shall see. To illustrate the range of available Christian sources on the body, I shall examine briefly five works that differ widely in genre and cultural setting but which share (because of their language of transmission) the category of "eastern": (1) a portion of a gnostic myth, written in Greek but preserved in Coptic (the *Book of Zoroaster*, now incorporated in the *Secret Book According to John*); (2) a church order, written in Greek but preserved in Syriac (the *Didascalia Apostolorum*); (3) a monastic philosophical epistle, written in Coptic but preserved in Syriac and Georgian (the first letter of Anthony the Great); (4) a set of sermons preserved in Coptic, although probably written in Greek (recently published homiletics from the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York); and (5) a hagiographic sermon, written and preserved in Syriac (the *Homily on Simeon the Stylite* by Jacob of Serug).

Certainly one of the most intriguing sets of eastern Christian sources from antiquity is the hoard of Coptic manuscripts discovered across the Nile from Nag Hammadi in Egypt; among the many

works preserved in these manuscripts relevant to our topic is *The Secret Book* (or *Apocryphon*) of *John*, a gnostic writing of such importance that at least four versions of it circulated in antiquity.<sup>3</sup> Originally composed in Greek in the early second century, the *Apocryphon* contains an account of the creation of Adam's body in two stages: the formation of an immaterial "animate" or "psychic" body, which is then placed secondarily in a material body. All of this is accomplished, not by the ultimate God (who is far too spiritual to be so intimately involved in this material realm), but by a committee of lesser powers, who (in the gnostic view) are malevolent and ignorant (*Ap. John* (NHC II) 15:1-21:14 [Layton 1987, 39-45]). The animate body is the spiritual prototype of the material body, containing an "animate element" of each of these constituent parts of the body: bone, connective tissue, flesh, marrow, blood, skin, and hair. Each of the seven primary "powers" of this world, corresponding to the seven planets, creates one of these elements (*Ap. John* (NHC II) 15:13-23 [Layton 1987, 39-40]). These ideas, present in all the manuscripts of the *Apocryphon* although with slight differences of detail, represent the gnostics' version of notions whose ultimate source is Plato's *Timaeus* and which Philo of Alexandria had already adapted to explain curious features of Genesis 1-3 (van den Broek 1981). What is striking about the long version of the *Apocryphon*, extant in two Nag Hammadi manuscripts, is the insertion of a lengthy excerpt from an otherwise lost work—but known to Porphyry of Tyre—called *Book of Zoroaster* in which the creation of Adam's immaterial body is described in much greater detail (*Ap. John* (NHC II) 15:29-19:10; Porph. V. *Plot.* 16 [Layton 1987, 40-3, 184]).

Here more than 100 of the 365 powers involved in making Adam's "animate" body are named and associated with the creation of individual body parts and limbs as well as the soul-body's passions. For example: "The first, Raphao, began by making the crown

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<sup>3</sup> On the use of the term "gnostic" here, see Layton 1995. The critical edition of *Ap. John* is by Waldstein and Wisse; I have used Layton's translation of the long version in NHC II and IV (1987, 28-51). On the manuscripts and versions, see Layton 1987, 25-6. For what follows and more general studies of the body in Gnosticism, see Williams 1989 and 1996, 116-38.

of the head; Abron (?) made the skull; Meniggesstroeth made the brain; Asterekhme, the right eye; Thaspomakha, the left eye ..." and so on, including each armpit and buttock, the internal organs, and the toenails. Other "demons" preside over the four elements of the body (heat, cold, dryness, wetness) as well as over the passions (grief, pain, anger, etc.). But the work of these ignorant rulers is ineffective: their animate human being remains "inactive and immovable" until Wisdom tricks Ialtabaoth into placing a portion of her divine "power" into the human being, enabling him to stand. The superiority of Adam, indicated by his upright stature, provokes the demonic rulers to jealousy, and they relegate the human being to a material body (*Ap. John* (NHC II) 19:10-20:9 [Layton 1987, 43-4]). Hence, Adam's material body results from the rulers' vengeance; it is disparaged in Platonizing fashion as a "cave," a "bond," mere clothing for the true self (*Ap. John* (NHC II) 21:9-12 [Layton 1987, 45]). Nonetheless, the material body is patterned after the immaterial one, and thus its parts and upright stature acquire at least a derivative cosmic significance.

The human body, thus symbolized, has a complex meaning that cannot be reduced to scholarly clichés about gnostic "hatred" or "disgust" of the body. On the one hand, the gnostics considered the 365 powers, led by the vain and foolish Ialtabaoth, to be cosmic rulers, hostile to gnostic humanity, who have imprisoned human beings in the chains of destiny or fate. Reading the *Book of Zoroaster*, the gnostic may have come to see his or her body, through its animate counterpart, as the means by which Knuks, Tupelon, and the 363 other powers exert their control over the gnostic's painful life in this material world. On the other hand, the gnostic's awareness of these rulers, their names and connections to the body, must itself have been a sign of the gnostic's potential escape from their clutches. Unlike other people, the gnostics knew precisely how their bodies were manipulated by the cosmic forces.

How might this positive insight have been embodied in a gnostic's life? It has been plausibly suggested that the brief list of the seven major body parts and their primary creative powers (present in both the long and short versions of the *Apocryphon*) may have functioned as a "guide" or "index" by which the gnostic could ma-

nipulate these body parts (bone, head, etc.) "in order to achieve certain ascetical states" indicated by the names of the corresponding powers (Divinity, Understanding, etc.) (Valantasis 1989-90, 155). The detailed lists of body parts, limbs, and passions with their ruler names in the *Book of Zoroaster* may suggest functions beyond this ascetic one: perhaps the gnostic could use magic to solve a problem with a particular body part (e.g., the right foot) by binding the ruler who created and presides over it (in this case, Phiouthrom). Several magical spells preserved in Coptic, although they neither come from the Gnostic sect nor contain the demonic names mentioned in the *Book of Zoroaster*, do illustrate that individually named demons or supernatural powers could be invoked in relation to specific body parts or ailments (nos. 43, 46, 135 in Meyer and Smith 1994, 83-90, 92, 376-41). Plotinus charged that the Gnostics "assert diseases to be Spirit-Beings and boast of being able to expel them by formula" as if they were "magicians" (Plot. *Enn.* 2.9.14 [transl. MacKenna and Dillon 1991, 126]). As I mentioned above, Porphyry reports that the Gnostics known to Plotinus used a *Book of Zoroaster* (Porph. V. *Plot.* 16). The body's connection to the supernatural world both demonstrated the gnostic's plight in this material realm and provided means for the gnostic to overcome this plight and alleviate specific bodily difficulties.

The body's relationship to the supernatural world is the concern also of the compiler of the church order known as the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, but here the focus is more earth-bound: should Christians who are menstruating or have experienced a nocturnal emission commune or not?<sup>4</sup> The *Didascalia* originated in Syria in the early third century (ca. 230); although composed in Greek, it survives now only in its Syriac version (although its Greek terms may sometimes be discerned in a later work, the *Apostolic Constitutions*, for which it served as a source). The compiler of this manual for church life knows fellow Christians who abstain from the Eucharist during menstruation and after sexual intercourse or seminal emission, and he condemns this practice. Syrian Christians debated this issue in terms of the presence of spiritual beings within their

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<sup>4</sup> Vööbus 1979; chapter 26 is the relevant section. For an expanded discussion of the material in this and the following two paragraphs, see Brakke 1995.



bodies, for they shared the belief that the body of the baptized Christian formed a bounded space inhabited by the Holy Spirit and impenetrable to the demonic forces that populated the world. It was baptism that had expelled the demons from their bodies and provided the protective seal of the Holy Spirit.<sup>5</sup>

The opponents of the *Didascalia's* compiler argued that the passage of material from within the body to the outside rendered the body's boundary permeable, potentially open to demonic penetration; thus, they could not approach the altar until they had been cleansed through washing. The compiler argued that such emissions did not violate the body's boundary; only a significant moral failing could deprive a baptized person of the Holy Spirit and so leave his or her body open to the demons (*Did. Apost.* 26 [Vööbus 1979, 255-9]). This intriguing view of the baptized body correlated with the fragile position of a nascent Christian church within an overwhelming pagan ("demonic") society. The debate reflected the need of Christians to differentiate themselves in particular from their nearest competitor, the emerging Jewish synagogue, for the compiler portrays concerns about emissions as based in the "second legislation" of the Septuagint, which Christians (he says) need no longer obey (*Did. Apost.* 26 [Vööbus 1979, 259-63]). Here the body was the site of conflict among religious alternatives in the social world.

In other Christian contexts, however, particularly monastic ones, the conflict that played itself out in the body was a more internal and psychological one. In one of his epistles to his ascetic disciples, Anthony, the Egyptian hermit, articulated a program of repentance, by which the Christian could purify the "motions" of the body.<sup>6</sup> Writing in Coptic in the early fourth century, Anthony dis-

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<sup>5</sup> A similar understanding of baptism appears in another document of third-century Syrian Christianity, the *Acts of Thomas*; see chapters 26-7, 49, 51-4, 121, 157. On the form of Christianity represented by the *Acts*, see my discussion of Jacob of Serug's homily below.

<sup>6</sup> See *Ant. Ep.* 1; trans. Chitty 1975, 1-5; cf. *Apophth. Patr.* Ant. 22 (PG 65.84). The textual history of the letters attributed to Antony is highly complex, and their authenticity is disputed. For complete discussion and a compelling case for authenticity, see Rubenson 1990.

tinguished three "motions" in the body: a "natural motion" that is "passionless" yet "does not operate without the soul's consent"; a second motion that results from too much "food and drink," on account of which "the blood's heat stirs the body to action"; and a third motion caused by demons (Ant. *Ep.* 1 [Chitty 1979, 2]). According to Anthony, the soul is implicated in all three of the body's motions, even the passionless natural motion, which requires the soul's "consent." Indeed, Anthony's spiritual program maintained a sharp distinction between soul and body, but Anthony did not dualistically separate these dimensions of the human being; rather, the purification of soul and body went hand in hand. He writes: "It is required of a man to repent in body and soul, and to purify them both. And if the mind conquers in this contest, then it prays in the Spirit, and begins to expel from the body the passions of the soul which come to it from its own will" (Ant. *Ep.* 1 [Chitty 1979, 3]). Anthony required a program of repentance by which the motions of the body were purified in the bodily members (eyes, ears, tongues, hands, belly, genitals, and feet). In discussing purification of the genitals, Anthony reminds his addressees of the "discrimination between the three types of motion"—a hint that one must understand erections and nocturnal emissions according to these types—and sounds a strong note of perfectionism: "All the motions are quenched by the power of the Spirit, which makes peace in the whole body, and cuts off from it all passions" (Ant. *Ep.* 1 [Chitty 1979, 4]). Thus, even motions that were "natural" and "passionless" were to be removed with the help of the Spirit. None of this assigned blame for the passions to the body, for the soul had "other passions apart from the body" (pride, envy, hatred, and so forth) (Ant. *Ep.* 1 [Chitty 1979, 5]). Anthony's letter articulated a specifically monastic program of ascetic discipline: the monk acted on his body, but the ultimate goal of his efforts was the purification of his soul, which was the origin of the problematic passions.

Coptic manuscripts meanwhile contain numerous sermons that reveal how Christian clergy in Egypt exhorted non-ascetic Christians to "embody" their salvation. Since such sermons do not represent theological reflection at its highest and are often difficult to contextualize, many of them remain unpublished, and they are seldom studied by modern scholars. Nonetheless, a survey of seven re-

cently published sermons extant in Coptic (although perhaps originally composed in Greek) reveals symbolism of the body that deserves further exploration.<sup>7</sup> In these sermons the body functions as a marker of humanity's place in the cosmic hierarchy over which God rules. On the one hand, the body is a sign of humanity's inferiority to angels and other "bodiless" creatures, whose disembodied natures place them closer to God and make them valuable intercessors on behalf of sinful humanity (Depuydt 1991, 3.3; 4 *passim*; 5.5). The body is merely a temporary human condition, for death is described as leaving the body or as God calling back the spirit that he had placed in the body (Depuydt 1991, 3.7; 5.29; 6.27).

Urging his Eastertide congregation not to mourn the deaths of loved ones excessively, one preacher explains the birth and death of human beings this way:

Your father has given a single drop of sperm to your mother and a body has come into being. God, then, has entrusted it (the body) with a spirit and breathing has come into existence in it. Then what will you say when he will issue a command to take it away? For it belongs to him and he has entrusted it (the spirit) to it (the body) in order to take it back as it was before. Can you then prevent him? (Depuydt 1991, 6.27)

The body here is little more than a corpse in which the spirit temporarily resides. Yet, this preacher goes on to describe the crucified Jesus as saving people by shedding his blood directly onto Adam's corpse, which God had caused the primeval flood to carry to Golgotha precisely for this purpose (Depuydt 1991, 6.37-8).

This last notion, in its blunt physicality, points to how these preachers, although they consider the body to be a temporary sign of humanity's inferiority, nevertheless think of salvation in fully corporeal terms. They emphasize the presence of Christ's actual body and blood in the Eucharist: their sense of the sacrament's holiness is so intense that deacons are described as picking up the Eucharistic elements only with their hands shielded by rolls of ordinary bread (Depuydt 1991, 2.24; 3.17; 4.6, 42-3; 6.5). A sermon on St. Mercurius describes the martyr as interacting with Christians in quite physical ways: he teaches a stingy woman the virtue of

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<sup>7</sup> Depuydt 1991; references are to the homily and section numbers as they appear in D.'s volumes.

charity by plaguing her with a disease; he chastises robbers who steal reliquaries from his chapel by blinding them; and when "the whole body" of a mason working on the saint's chapel is crushed by the collapse of the edifice, the saint heals the mason so that his body resembles that of "a runner in good shape" (Depuydt 1991, 1.8-11, 19-22). Not surprisingly, the preachers of these sermons exhort their flocks to maintain the purity of their bodies by avoiding sexual sins and overindulgence in eating; virginity is the way in which one can become most perfectly like the bodiless angels (Depuydt 1991, 1.3; 2.7, 12-3; 3.11, 17; 5.28; 6.76). But they place much greater stress on charity, giving alms to the poor: most Christians become like the angels primarily by meeting the bodily needs of their fellow human beings (Depuydt 1991, 1.19-20; 2.27; 3.27; 4.35, 59, 65-9; 5.25-7; 6.70, 89).

In these sermons directed to audiences of ordinary, non-ascetic Christians, the body emerges as the basic condition of being human in this world: negatively, the body represents humanity's distance from the spiritual realm in which God and his "bodiless" creatures dwell; positively, the body is precisely the locus for God's saving action and for humanity's ethical response. Care for the bodies of others becomes the means by which people enter incorporeal blessedness: "Do you want the door of heaven to open to you? You too open your hand to the poor." (Depuydt 1991, 5.25). The sermons' emphasis on human corporeality, both positive and negative, may reflect continued conflict in Egyptian Christianity over the status of the body, a conflict rooted in the Origenist controversy at the turn of the fifth century (Brakke 2000).

Nonetheless, when most modern people consider early Christian attitudes toward the body, they are more likely to think of the spectacularly harsh treatments of the body found in accounts of ascetics, especially those of Syria. Among the most famous of these is Simeon the Stylite (ca. 386-459), whose extreme acts of self-mortification led to his break with more moderate monastic groups: Simeon eventually took up residence on a small platform atop a pillar as much as sixty feet high; there he remained, exposed to the elements, for nearly forty years, until his death. What are we to make of such dramatically harsh treatment of the body? Unfortu-

nately, there is little reliable evidence from Simeon himself that explains what meaning the stylite invested in his odd behavior, but there are diverse ancient *Lives* of Simeon, each of which presents its own understanding of the stylite and his mission (Harvey 1988). In addition to these we have a powerful homily on Simeon delivered by the Syrian preacher Jacob of Serug (ca. 449-521), who spent the last years of his life (519-21) as bishop of Batna.<sup>8</sup> Jacob's homiletic account of Simeon is remarkable for how it treats one of the most important incidents in Simeon's life, his near death from gangrene in his foot: only Jacob reports that Simeon survived by cutting off his own foot, and he describes this self-performed amputation in graphic detail.

Such extreme mortification of the body was a notable feature of Syriac Christianity. The earliest form of Christianity in the regions surrounding Edessa, eastern Syria and Mesopotamia, was a highly ascetic strain of the religion that produced literature associated with the apostle Thomas, such as the *Gospel According to Thomas* and the *Acts of Thomas* (Layton 1987, 359-409; Koester 1971). Thomas Christianity was highly dualistic: this world, in comparison to the spiritual realm, was no better than a "corpse"; the body was "poverty" into which the "great wealth" of the soul had come to dwell; the resulting ethic was extreme detachment from the world, including bodily pleasures and social institutions: "Jesus said, 'Be passersby' " (*G. Thom.* 56, 29, 42 [Layton 1987, 385-90]).

As proto-orthodox Christianity became more entrenched in the Syriac-speaking areas and Thomas Christianity became discredited through the use of its literature by Mani, this dualism became increasingly muted although it never fully disappeared, despite the protests of some modern scholars. Yet, the extreme asceticism remained, although understood within more "orthodox" spiritual paradigms. Jacob of Serug's homily on Simeon, for example, may still be called dualistic, but the opposition here is not between soul and body, but between God and Satan, who are portrayed as being at war. The metaphor of warfare dominates the sermon: Satan is

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<sup>8</sup> The Syriac text has been edited in Bedjan 1894, 650-65. I have used the translation by Susan Ashbrook Harvey in Wimbush 1990, 15-28. References are to the page numbers in Bedjan's edition as supplied by Harvey.

the commander of "troops of demons and devils," whom he encourages for battle with a stirring pre-battle oration (651-2). Simeon, standing watch on his pillar, is God's front-line of defense against the Satanic forces; Simeon's body, the battlefield on which the cosmic war is fought.

Jacob understands the stylite's endurance of physical discomforts and ailments to be his fighting off of the demonic attacks, the worst of which is the gangrenous foot. Thus, Simeon's amputation of his foot becomes an act of military triumph; the grisly imagery with which Jacob describes it is appropriate to an account of war:

The blessed man did a wonderful deed that has never been done before: he cut off his foot that he would not be hindered from his work. Who would not weep at having his foot cut off at its joint? But he looked on it as something foreign, and he was not even sad.

And as Satan was wallowing in blood and sprinkled with pus and covered in mucus, and the rocks were spattered, the just man nevertheless sang. While a branch of his body was cut off from its tree, his face was exuding delightful dew and comely glory. Then he said to it [the foot], "Go in peace until the resurrection. And do not grieve, for your hope will be kept in the kingdom." And even though all of him lived, his limb died and was cast before him. And the one foot bore the burden of the whole body. And while his limbs dripped with sweat and were spattered with blood, his sword was unsheathed and his bow drawn against Satan (657-8).

The warrior Simeon follows this with a song of victory, once again addressed to his amputated foot. Although this dramatic scene is the climax of Simeon's battle with Satan and of Jacob's panegyric, the homilist goes on to list Simeon's other ascetic acts as additional weapons in the stylite's war with Satan: fasting, keeping vigil, perpetual standing, and the like (660). Simeon's extreme mortification of his body becomes representative of a range of lesser acts of discipline by which Christians, monastic and lay, can wage war against Satan. Jacob then artfully turns his battle metaphor on himself as a clever way of making the ancient orator's traditional protest of inadequacy to his subject:

I would tell his battle with Satan, but I am not sufficient for it, since the time is short, the battle wondrous, and the contest great. The victorious one has conquered me; I shrink from in front of him, how beautiful he is, and I am not able to speak his beauties as they are. Like a painter I wished to paint him, but his beauty has conquered me. Like a hunter I wished to capture him, but he has flown away from me. While I am wanting to stretch out

toward him, he has attained heaven. I am tarrying below, and he has been raised up (660-1).

Here in yet another guise is the paradox that runs through most early Christian symbolism of the body: the Christian's victory over evil is won precisely in the body (both his or her own and that of Christ), but that victory is understood to be a flight from the body and from this world into the heavenly realm above.<sup>9</sup>

This rapid survey should give the historian of the body an idea both of the range of Christian sources available in eastern languages and the diversity of ways in which eastern Christians constructed and used the body. By no means have I done a proper job of contextualizing these literary sources, which can only be understood fully in relation to the ritual practices, social organizations, full belief systems, and material cultures of the communities in which they originated. In general, the student of late antiquity lacks the sources that historians of later periods consider "dependable information" about human bodies of the past (Porter 1990, 210-1). Moreover, while some of the sources above are fairly easy to date and place in a geographical setting (the *Didascalia Apostolorum* and the homilies of Jacob of Serug, for example), the contexts of other works remain frustratingly elusive (gnostic writings, the Coptic homilies). In any case, the historian who wishes to understand the constructions of the body in literary sources from the Christian ancient Near East will be wise to make use of the diverse materials represented in the papers of this volume. In turn, interpretation of ancient material culture ought to take into account the symbolic constructions of the body found in literary sources, for these shaped and reflected how ancient Christians experienced their lives in the "clay jars" of their bodies (2 Cor. 4:7).<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Jacob discussed the meaning and significance of the body in more abstract terms in other homilies, such as those on creation; see Boulos Sony 1984-5.

<sup>10</sup> I am grateful to Jason Beduhn and J. Albert Harrill for comments on earlier drafts of this essay and to Dale Martin for bibliographic advice.

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## The Human Body as Social and Political Metaphor in Stoic Literature and Early Christian Writers

The human body has provided a rich source of metaphor for structuring human life. Pervasive, cognitive metaphors, derived from our embodied existence, have been as important in history as they are in modern times.<sup>1</sup> One important use of the body as metaphor in ancient literature is as a metaphor for society or the "state." This use becomes especially marked in Stoic literature and also plays a significant role in early Christian writings.

The body as a literary metaphor for society or the state is employed with a variety of functions which include encouraging the cooperation of all toward the common good of the city, commonwealth or empire (The speech attributed to Menenius Agrippa, see below; Hierocles, *On Duties*, 3.39.34-36; Maximus of Tyre, *Oration*, 15.4-5; Plutarch, *Vit. Sol.*, 18.88. These mirror earlier uses such as Plato, *Rep.*, 5.464B; Aristotle, *Pol.* 1.1-2), encouraging supportive family relationships (Hierocles, *On Duties*, 4.27.20), illustrating the need to live a balanced life (Dio Chrysostom, *Disc.* 17), discouraging an inappropriate desire for flattery (Dio Chrysostom, *Disc.* 33 who refers to an otherwise unknown fable by Aesop), advocating mercy toward an erring member of society (Seneca, see below), illustrating dysfunction in the city or state (Josephus *J.W.* 4 §406-7), and describing the ideal role of the high priest as one who unites "every age and every part of the nation ... as a single body" (Philo, *Spec.*

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<sup>1</sup> See Johnson 1987. Johnson holds that "our bodily movements and interactions in various physical domains of experience are structured ... and that structure can be projected by metaphor onto abstract domains." One such "metaphor" is the "pervasive, metaphorical understanding" that "more is up." For Johnson, "it is no accident that we understand QUANTITY in terms of ... VERTICALITY." This is one of the "forms of imagination" that grows out of bodily existence (xiv-xv). Various societies do, of course, view the human body differently. Martin helpfully contrasts Graeco-Roman constructions of the body with our own (1995, 3-37).

*Leg.* 3.131).<sup>2</sup> That so many examples may be cited from extant writings (and the above list is not exhaustive) suggests the popularity and utility of the body metaphor as a way of understanding human society.

It has been suggested that the origin of this use is documented by a grammatical exercise of young students in ancient Egypt. An Egyptian student's writing board which has been assigned to the Twenty-second Dynasty (ca. 945-715 B.C.E) contains a fragmentary tale, "The Quarrel of the Body and the Head," and seems to relate a court-scene in which the body and the head quarrel for power (Hicks 1963).

More clearly, some instances, especially the celebrated use of the body metaphor in a speech ascribed to Menenius Agrippa, seem related to a fable credited to Aesop, "The Belly and the Feet":

The belly and the feet were arguing about their importance, and when the feet kept saying that they were so much stronger that they even carried the stomach around, the stomach replied, "But, my good friends, if I didn't take in food, you wouldn't be able to carry anything."<sup>3</sup>

To this fable was added later a moral which applies it to the relationships between soldiers and generals.<sup>4</sup>

Perhaps the most noted use of the body metaphor in Greek and Latin authors is the one in the just mentioned speech attributed to Menenius Agrippa which is related by Dionysius of Halicarnassus,

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<sup>2</sup> For a more complete survey of uses of "body" and "head" metaphors in Philo, see Arnold 1994, 347-9.

<sup>3</sup> The translation is that of Daly 1961, 148. Daly bases his translation on Perry's text: Κουλία καὶ πόδες περὶ δυνάμειος ἤριζον. παρ' ἕκαστα δὲ τῶν ποδῶν λεγόντων ὅτι τοσοῦτον προέχουσι τῇ ἰσχύϊ ὥς καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν γαστέρα βαστάζειν, ἐκείνη ἀπεκρίνατο "ἀλλ', ὦ οὔτοι, ἐὰν μὴ ἐγὼ τροφήν προσλάβωμαι, οὐδὲν ὑμεῖς βαστάζειν δύνασθε" (Perry 1952, 371). Hicks (1963, 30-2) is followed by Moule (1977, 84) in holding that the speech attributed to Menenius Agrippa is based on the earlier Aesopic fable.

<sup>4</sup> Οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν στρατευμάτων μηδὲν ἐστὶ τὸ πολὺ πλῆθος, ἐὰν μὴ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀριστα φρονῶσι (Perry 1952, 371). "So it is with armies, too. Great numbers would mean nothing if the generals did not exercise good judgment" (Daly 1961, 282). According to Daly, "There is good reason for retelling the fables without these morals. The history of the collections pretty clearly indicates that these morals were not a necessary or standard accompaniment of the fables from the beginning" (17-8).

Livy, Florus, Plutarch and Cassius Dio.<sup>5</sup> Menenius Agrippa, portrayed as both a Roman Senator and a plebeian, serves as spokesman for the Roman Senate in restoring harmony between that council and the plebeians whom he addresses. Central to his successful attempt is his use of a fable. Livy's account reads:

On being admitted to the camp he [Menenius Agrippa] is said merely to have related the following apologue, in the quaint and uncouth style of that age: In the days when man's members did not all agree amongst themselves, as is now the case, but had each its own ideas and a voice of its own, the other parts thought it unfair that they should have the worry and the trouble and the labor of providing everything for the belly, while the belly remained quietly in their midst with nothing to do but to enjoy the good things which they bestowed upon it; they therefore conspired together that the hands should carry no food to the mouth, nor the mouth accept anything that was given it, nor the teeth grind up what they received. While they sought in this angry spirit to starve the belly into submission, the members themselves and the whole body were reduced to utmost weakness. Hence it had become clear that even the belly had no idle task to perform, and was no more nourished than it nourished the rest, by giving out to all parts of the body that by which we live and thrive, when it has been divided equally amongst the veins and is enriched with digested food—that is, the blood. Drawing a parallel from this to show how like was the internal dissension of the bodily members to the anger of the plebs against the Fathers, he prevailed upon the minds of his hearers (Livy 2.32.8-12; ed. and tr. Foster, 1952, 322-5).

In the more elaborate version of the parable and speech provided by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the feet, hands, shoulders, mouth and head all "speak" against the belly. The head says that "it sees and hears and, comprehending the other senses, possesses all those by which the thing is preserved." It is implied that the belly is the body's "leader," for the members ask: "Well then, shall we not now at last free ourselves from this tyranny of yours and live without a leader?" (δίχ' ἡγεμόνος οἰκόμεν;) The moral supplied by Dionysius is that, just as the human body is composed of diverse parts, the "commonwealth" is "composed of many classes of people not at all

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<sup>5</sup> Hicks 1963, 35 n. 14. Hicks believes that "some later writer must have attributed it to him [Menenius Agrippa] so successfully that in time it came to be generally accepted." Her candidate for the attribution is Valerius Antias who takes "the first instance of sedition in the Roman Republic" (494 B.C.E) as "a suitable occasion for the fable's employment" (31).

resembling one another, every one of which contributes some particular service to the common good, just as its members do to the body" (Dionysius of Halicarnassus 6.86; ed. and tr. Cary and Spelman, 1943, 4:108-13).

It is of interest to note that, in the fable, the body has a leading member, in this case the "belly," which nourishes the rest of the body's members. In Livy's account the belly gives out "to all parts of the body that by which we live and thrive."

Together with authors such as Hierocles, Seneca demonstrates an ability to employ the body metaphor variably, though in the uses noted below there is a recurrent theme, mercy and care for the individual person, even when that individual has done wrong. Seneca employs the body metaphor in *Epistulae Morales* 92.30 and 95.51-2. In the first passage Seneca writes:

Why should not one think that something divine exists in it (?), which is part of god? The whole of this which contains us is a unity and is god; and we are partners and limbs of it.<sup>6</sup>

In letter 95 Seneca supports his advocacy of kindness by viewing the human and the divine together as "one great body." He writes:

I can lay down for [hu]mankind a rule, in short compass, for our duties in human relationships: all that you behold, that which comprises both god and man, is one—we are the parts of one great body (*omne hoc, quod vides, quo divina atque humana conclusa sunt, unum est; membra sumus corporis magni*). Nature produced us related to one another, since she created us from the same source and to the same end. She engendered in us mutual affection, and made us prone to friendships.<sup>7</sup>

In these two references in *Epistulae Morales* Seneca reflects "the Stoic idea of the cosmos as an organized body."<sup>8</sup> However, Seneca does so without, at least explicitly, assigning divinity a leading role. He does not employ "head" to form a sub-metaphor. He uses the

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<sup>6</sup> *Quid est autem cur non existimes in eo divini aliquid existere, qui dei pars est? Totum hoc, quo continemur, et unum est et deus; et socii sumus eius et membra* (As cited in Moule 1977, 84. However, the translation is somewhat debatable, because of the unclear semantic reference of *qui*).

<sup>7</sup> Seneca (ed. and tr. Gummere, 1971), 90-1. Cf. Seneca, *QNat.* 6.14.1 and the uses in Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius provided by Ernest Best (1955, 223).

<sup>8</sup> Moule 1977, 84. See n. 39 on the same page and Knox 1938, 243-6 for references to other Stoic authors.

body metaphor to emphasize the unity of divinity and humanity rather than the mastery of the divine over the human.

In *De ira* he employs the body metaphor differently. The "body" now seems to be composed solely of the human members of society. He asks, "What if the hands should desire to harm the feet, or the eyes the hands?" and cites the example of the "harmony" enjoyed by "members of the body" to urge sparing an individual because "society can be kept unharmed only by the mutual protection and love of its parts."<sup>9</sup>

Seneca exploits the body metaphor twice in *De clementia*, an essay addressed to the autocrat Nero in the mid-50's A.D. In both passages the "body" is again comprised of "parts," the human members of society. To the use of "parts" or "members" as a sub-metaphor Seneca adds the use of "head." In the first passage he dwells on the unifying role of Caesar in relation to the empire and the dissolution which would result if this relationship were dissolved. The emperor is "the bond by which the commonwealth is united (*Ille est enim vinculum, per quod res publica cohaeret*), the breath of life which these many thousands draw, who in their own strength would be only a burden to themselves and the prey of others if the great mind of the empire should be withdrawn (*si mens illa imperii subtrahatur*)" (1.4.1). Seneca warns of the disintegration that would come if the citizens of the empire were to "tear away the rein" (1.4.2). If such occurs, "this unity and this fabric of mightiest empire will fly into many parts (*in partes multas dissiliet*), and the end of this city's rule will be one with the end of her obedience" (1.4.2-3). The Emperor and the state are dependent on each other, for "while a Caesar needs power, the state also needs a head

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<sup>9</sup> To injure one's country is a crime; consequently, also, to injure a fellow-citizen—for he is a part of the country, and if we reverence the whole, the parts are sacred (*sanctae partes sunt, si universum venerabile est*)—consequently to injure any man is a crime, for he is your fellow-citizen in the greater commonwealth. What if the hands should desire to harm the feet, or the eyes the hands? As all the members of the body are in harmony with another because it is to the advantage of the whole that the individual members be unharmed, so mankind should spare the individual man, because all are born for a life of fellowship, and society can be kept unharmed only by the mutual protection and love of its parts" (Seneca 2.31.7-8; ed. and tr. Basore, 1928, 234-7).

(*caput*)" (1.4.3). Seneca draws on this argumentation to underline his point concerning mercy. Addressing Nero directly, he writes:

For if—and this is what thus far it is establishing—you are the soul of the state and the state your body (*tu animus rei publicae tuae es, illa corpus tuum*), you see, I think, how requisite is mercy; for you are merciful to yourself when you are seemingly merciful to another. And so even reprobate citizens should have mercy as being the weak members of the body (*membris languentibus*) ... (1.5.1)<sup>10</sup>

In this passage Nero is clearly identified as the "head," a term which functions as a sub-metaphor of "body."<sup>11</sup>

Nero, as the leader of the Roman Empire, is also identified as the "head" of the civic "body" in the second occurrence of the body metaphor in *De clementia* 2.2.1. Here, Seneca praises an "utterance" of the emperor on the occasion of the sentencing of two "brigands" by the prefect Burrus. Seneca tells of Burrus' reluctant request to Nero to sign the authorization for the executions: "He [Burrus] was reluctant, you [Nero] were reluctant, and, when he had produced the paper and was handing it to you, you exclaimed, 'Would that I had not learned to write.'"<sup>12</sup> Seneca makes this exclamation the basis for his essay on mercy. After praising the saying itself (three times) he writes, "What an utterance!" and he expresses the wish that it might have been spoken "before a gathering of all [hu]mankind"). Seneca looks forward to an era when "vice, having misused its long reign, should at length give place to an age of happiness and purity." In this context, he employs a body metaphor to indicate how he hopes Nero's merciful utterance will lead to such an era:

We are pleased to hope and trust, Caesar, that in large measure this will happen. That kindness of your heart will be recounted, will be diffused little

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<sup>10</sup> Text and translation after Basore, 1928, 1.368-71.

<sup>11</sup> Best (1955), 223 cites the passage as representing an "emerging view that the state, or empire, is a body of which the king or emperor is head." E.A. Judge (1963, 69) refers to the thought as "a new refinement" which developed "during the New Testament period." This "new refinement" is reflected as well in other authors: Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.12, 13; Plutarch, *Galba* 4.3; Curtius Rufus, *Historiae Alexandri Magni Macedonensis* 10.9.1; Philo, *De Praem. et Poen.* 114, 125. See also the discussion in Lincoln 1990, 69.

<sup>12</sup> *De clementia* 2.1.2.



by little throughout the whole body of the empire, and all things will be molded into your likeness. It is from the head that comes the health of the body; it is through it that all the parts are lively and alert or languid and drooping according as their animating spirit has life or withers.<sup>13</sup>

From one perspective, that of political theory, Seneca may be faulted for having added "the final twist" to a "destructive doctrine" of state by employing the sub-metaphor of the emperor as "head." The very body metaphor once used to express equal partnership within society is now adopted to imply an emperor (Judge 1963, 69). However, the rhetorical function of the metaphor seems less to buttress a novel theory of government than to persuade toward the virtue of kindness.

The uses of the body metaphor as expressed in Greek and Latin authors to designate human society or the "state" play an important role in shaping early Christian thought.<sup>14</sup> In the First Epistle to the Corinthians Paul likens the local Christian community to a human body in an effort to persuade his hearers/readers of the need for unity in view of the diversity of "spiritual gifts" (1 Cor. 12). Christians are "many members, yet one body" (1 Cor. 12:20).<sup>15</sup> Paul repeats the theme in the Epistle to the Romans:

For as in one body we have many members, and not all the members have the same function, so we, who are many, are one body in Christ, and individually we are members one of another. We have gifts that differ according to the grace given to us: prophecy, in proportion to faith; ministry, in ministering; the teacher, in teaching; the exhorter, in exhortation; the giver, in generosity; the leader, in diligence; the compassionate, in cheerfulness (Rom. 12:4-8).

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<sup>13</sup> *De clementia* 2.2.1: *Futurum hoc, Caesar, ex magna parte sperare et confidere libet. Tradetur ista animi tui mansuetudo diffundeturque paulatim per omne imperii corpus, et cuncta in similitudinem tuam formabuntur. A capite bona valetudo: inde omnia vegeta sunt atque erecta aut languore demissa, prout animus eorum vivit aut marcet* (Text and translation after Basore, 1928, 1.432-3).

<sup>14</sup> Among recent authors who would agree are Dunn 1992, and Schweizer 1992. Best believes that Paul's readers would have been familiar with "the fable itself in one of its many forms" while "the origin of Paul's conception of the church as the body of Christ ... lies deep in his theology" (1998, 191-2).

<sup>15</sup> All translations from the New Testament are drawn from the New Revised Standard Version unless otherwise noted.

In the uses of the body metaphor in the early Pauline Epistles the "head" is a part of the body in the same way that a "foot" or an "eye" is part of the body. It is not distinguished as holding an especially significant place: "The eye cannot say to the hand, 'I have no need of you,' nor again the head to the feet, 'I have no need of you' " (1 Cor. 12:21).

In the Epistle to the Colossians and the Epistle to the Ephesians the body metaphor is redeployed.<sup>16</sup> Here the body may refer not just to local congregation(s) but also to the Christian church at large. In addition, the "head" of the body is identified with Christ.

It is of some interest to compare the use of the body metaphor by Seneca in *De clementia* 2.2.1 and that of the author of Ephesians in 4:11-6. Between the two occurrences of the body metaphor there is considerable difference in both tenor and rhetorical strategy.<sup>17</sup> Seneca employs the metaphor to describe his wishes that the Emperor's kindness might be diffused through the empire. And, as he addresses his praise to the emperor, his rhetorical strategy seems to be to encourage further mercy on the part of Nero (though Seneca probably has a wider audience in view as well). The author of Ephesians employs the metaphor to call attention to how he believes the risen, ascended Christ has constituted the church. Addressed to the "parts" of the ecclesiastical body, the rhetorical strategy involves encouraging the acceptance of resources provided by the "head."

However, there are similarities in the way the two authors shape the vehicle as well as in the associated commonplaces that

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<sup>16</sup> Most biblical scholars attribute Ephesians and, with less frequency, Colossians to a disciple or follower of Paul rather than to Paul himself. A strong minority opinion argues for the involvement of the Apostle in the formulation of the two documents. Compare Lincoln (1990, lix-lxxiii) and O'Brien (1999, 4-47).

<sup>17</sup> J.N. Sevenster argues that between Paul and Seneca, "superficial verbal coincidences are by no means indicative of more profound resemblances." Seneca speaks of "daily dying" and Paul says, "I die every day," yet any similarity between the two statements is more formal than substantive. He concludes: "This study has, it is hoped, shown that great care must be taken when drawing parallels ... The same words do not always mean the same thing. On the contrary, in this study the fact has time and again emerged that superficial resemblances are precisely what, on closer examination, reveal the underlying difference most clearly" (Sevenster 1961, 231, 240).

seem to adhere, for them, to the imagery of the head and body.<sup>18</sup> In the passage from Seneca, it is clear that the Emperor is the "head," though Seneca does not say, "You are the head." From the head kindness is to be "diffused" throughout "the whole body of the empire." If the view is correct that the body metaphor in Eph. 4:11-6 portrays a flow of resources from Christ as "head" through the "ligaments" to the "members," a similar diffusion is portrayed there. Seneca sees a resulting change in the body of the empire—"all things will be molded into your likeness." Ephesians portrays a building up of the individual "to mature manhood, to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ" (4:13, Revised Standard Version).

There are similarities as well in the associated commonplaces of the sub-metaphor, "head." Seneca explains in some detail his as-

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<sup>18</sup> Sevenster compares the use of "body" metaphor in Seneca and Paul and concludes: "It is scarcely worthwhile enumerating those places where Paul uses *κόμα* and Seneca *corpus* when their meaning is so disparate. A catalogue of verbal similarities will not contribute to the exegesis of the Pauline epistles" (173). However, he does see remarkable similarities between *De clementia* 2.2.1 and the use of the body metaphor in Ephesians 4. Of this passage from Seneca he writes: "Here, in the metaphor of the body the head acquires a special significance, such as it has in Paul's letters where Christ is the head. What is so striking about Paul's use of this metaphor is that he always applies it to the Church. The Church is the body of Christ or the body whose head is Christ. Of Him Paul might well have said: 'It is from the head that comes the health of the body; it is through it that all the parts are lively and alert,' since he too believes that the true life does not spring from the limbs but that Christ, the head, grants it too them. He alone can make them grow and give them unity, salvation and life. He, 'from whom the whole body, joined and knit together by every joint with which it is supplied, when each part is working properly, makes bodily growth and up-builds itself in love' (Eph. 4:16)" (172). Sevenster goes on to distinguish the use of the metaphor by Seneca and that in Ephesians on the basis of concepts of "fellowship"; he argues that "Seneca's notion of fellowship being based upon such very different premises from Paul's deprives the fact that they both use the same metaphor of much of its significance" (173). After discussing "the celebrated allegory of Menenius Agrippa," Moule says, "But we come even nearer to New Testament language in Seneca (4 B.C. – A.D. 65)" and, later, "I am inclined ... to think that it is a mistake to imagine that the experience of Christ by Paul actually created the body-metaphor. The parallels from Seneca and Philo, even if not from elsewhere, are so near to the Pauline use of the analogy as to invalidate any such claim" (1977, 84-5).

sumptions with regard to the "head" and so provides an explanation for his employment of "head" as a sub-metaphor of the body imagery: "It is from the head that comes the health of the body; it is through it that all the parts are lively and alert or languid and drooping according as their animating spirit has life or withers." Though Eph. 4:15-6 is more complex in its "movement" (and its syntax), it may be viewed as serving a similar function in disclosing the author's presuppositions with regard to how a "head" functions:

But speaking the truth in love, we must grow up in every way into him who is the head, into Christ, from whom the whole body, joined and knit together by every ligament (ἀφῆ) with which it is equipped, as each part is working properly, promotes the body's growth in building itself up in love.

In considering the use of the body metaphor in Colossians and Ephesians, it is helpful to emphasize the varied use made by Seneca. In his writings, though not in a single document, we have a variety of usage which mirrors the uses of the body metaphor in these later Pauline Epistles. The metaphor may be used in a cosmic sense to indicate the unity of the human and the divine (cf. Col. 1:15-20; Eph. 1:22-3; 5:23, 30), to indicate the unity of the members of human society (cf. Eph. 2:16; 3:6; 4:4, 25) and to elucidate the relationship between the state as "body" and the emperor as "head" (cf. Col. 1:18; 2:19; Eph. 1:22-3; 4:11-6; 5:23).<sup>19</sup>

It is probably correct that "head" as a sub-metaphor of "body" entered Pauline use in Colossians as a result of the influence of Greek and Latin authors.<sup>20</sup> Col. 2:19 displays the basic dynamic of

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<sup>19</sup> P. Benoit argues that, unlike *caput*, κεφαλή "was not applied to the leader of a social group" (1974, 71); Caird 1976, 78 holds that κεφαλή was not used metaphorically in Classical Greek while R. Jewett concludes that "all efforts to find pre-Christian examples which characterize a group or society as a *cōma* have failed" (1971, 229). Such arguments are probably drawn too tightly, especially as the presence of the body metaphor is not necessarily dependent on the verbal equation of a group of people with *cōma*. Judge (1963, 68 n. 9, following Knox, 1938, 246) rejects such arguments as ones from silence and Moule (1977, 83-5) finds admissible some of the parallels dismissed by Jewett. Are there precise Greek or Latin parallels to the way the tenor of the body metaphor is formulated in the later Pauline Epistles? No. Do some of the uses in Greek and Latin authors demonstrate the accessibility and dynamics of uses of the body metaphor in the later Pauline Epistles? Probably, yes.

<sup>20</sup> So, for example, Lincoln 1990, 69; Benoit, 1974, 71-2.

the "head" as the leading member and source of supply of the body. Eph. 4:11-6 expands this dynamic and uses it to accent the mediating role of the "ligaments" which the author identifies with the "ministers" of the spoken word. In this expansion, the author of Ephesians may well have been aided by the uses of Greek and Latin authors.<sup>21</sup> The uses of the body metaphor in Seneca show that the metaphor could be employed in a variety of ways, that "head" could be employed as a sub-metaphor and assigned the role of supplying the body and that such a complex metaphor would be assumed to be understandable in the setting of the first century C.E.

In the context of the uses in the Greek and Latin authors, it is difficult to imagine "head" and "body" being employed as closely as they are in Eph. 4:11-6 without "head" serving as a sub-metaphor.<sup>22</sup> And it is assumed that such a use will be understood and not pressed too far. Judge, writing with reference to Seneca's use of the body metaphor in *De clementia* 1.4.3-5.1, says:

Nobody could imagine that any Roman reader of Seneca was likely to think of himself as literally a member of the body of Nero, nor that Seneca himself was attempting to suggest that. He was of course striving for the most intimate expression possible of the interdependence of ruler and subject in order to reinforce the social duties of one to another.<sup>23</sup>

The extant writings of ancient authors display an extensive and varied use of the human body as a source of literary metaphor. The scribbled characters of a young Egyptian, the fable of Aesop, the speech of Menenius Agrippa, the varied uses of the Stoic author Seneca, and the Pauline Epistles of the Christian New Testament are joined by numerous other occurrences of the body metaphor, all written testimony to the societal and political meanings ancient peoples found in embodied human existence.

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<sup>21</sup> The author of Ephesians "seems to have been an 'eclectic' thinker, influenced by several different kinds of models" (Furnish 1992).

<sup>22</sup> *Contra* Yorke 1991.

<sup>23</sup> Judge 1972, 164.

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## The Body in Ancient Egyptian Texts and Representations (Plate 6)

### Introductory Remarks

Texts and representations from ancient Egypt provide a great amount of evidence for the Egyptians' conceptions of their own bodies. Clearly, there was an acute awareness of the human form as well as an appreciation of the natural beauty of the male and female body. Nudity, or near nudity, was generally not a cause for embarrassment. The style of Egyptian clothing, with its sheer fabrics and minimum of coverage, was generally intended to enhance and accentuate the human form, rather than to obscure it. Workers in the field worn essentially no clothing, and men engaged in occupations such as butchering, tended to tuck the fabric of their kilts up into the waistbands, thereby keeping their garments clean, but exposing their genital area.<sup>1</sup> Musicians and fisherman also wore essentially no clothing. The gods Amun and Min were often shown in ithyphallic form (Plate 6, second from right), suggesting that, at least in the ritual context, such intimate aspects of the body were not matters of shame.

Statues and reliefs indicate that the standard dress for women was a tightly-fitted sheath which hugged the breasts, hips and waist.<sup>2</sup> In the New Kingdom, looser clothing was adopted, yet it was often made of diaphanous cloth that exposed the body.<sup>3</sup> Some New Kingdom dresses were simply left open in the front (Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, 110, fig. 7.13).

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<sup>1</sup> Among many examples, Vandier 1978, pls. XV.2, XVI.3 (left), XIX.1,3.

<sup>2</sup> Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, 96-107, for problems in interpreting the representations of these dresses, since no actual examples of some of the types shown in representations have been recovered. See also Robins 1990, 45-7.

<sup>3</sup> Or seemed to expose the body, see Robins 1990, 46. For specific examples, Aldred 1973, 35, fig. 18, nos. 16, 22, 31, 34, 56, 120, 141.



Although most sources support this idea of the lack of embarrassment over the exposed form, one Late Period text reflects a more puritan attitude. In the story of Setne, the protagonist wakes up in the gutter: "Setne was about to rise but could not rise for shame because he had no clothes" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 3:135).

### **The Ideal of Human Beauty**

Many texts indicate what features were considered to be components of a beautiful body. Much as in the modern western world, the emphasis, more clearly defined for women than for men, was to be slim and youthful. This ideal is clearly reflected in art of the Pharaonic period, during which time, woman and men alike, with few exceptions, were depicted as eternally youthful, in the prime of life (perhaps early 20's), slim, well-muscled and long legged (Plate 6). Exceptional representations, such as the statue of Hemiunu (Dynasty 4) (Eggebrecht 1993, 18) and reliefs from the tomb of Seshemnofor IV (Dynasty 6) (Eggebrecht 1993, 32) and Mereruka (Sakkarah Expedition 1938, pl. 44), all depart from the norm by showing the tomb owner as a corpulent man, whose heavy hips, heavy, full breasts and fleshy arms are a realistic portrayal of obesity.<sup>4</sup> The most valued features of men were strength and defined muscles. In the Tale of Sinuhe, the protagonist recalls: "I passed many years, my children becoming strong men." (Lichtheim 1973-80, 1:227). In a text in praise of scribes, the ideal is "you are tall and spare" (Camino 1954, 398), referring to the tall, slender form which is portrayed in statues and relief. However, to be thin without muscle tone was not desirable:

"You are tall and thin. If you lift a load to carry it, you would stagger, your legs would tremble. You are lacking in strength, you are weak in all your limbs, you are poor in body." (Lichtheim 1973-80, 2:171).

Representations of emaciated men are rare (Unis causeway, Dynasty 5; see Lauer 1976, fig 126), and are associated with famine and suffering.

The sense of youth as a measurement of beauty is found in several sources. An ostrakon in Cairo records: "Thank god for the body,

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<sup>4</sup> See Janssen and Janssen 1996, 14-7 for additional references, especially for the association of obesity with age.

its youthful vigor" (Cairo 25218 in Foster 1974, 30). The ideal of youth was coupled with a more explicit description of what was considered characteristic of feminine beauty in the Westcar Papyrus of the Middle Kingdom. In that tale, the king asked for amusement to alleviate his boredom: "Let there be brought to me twenty women with the shapeliest of bodies, breasts and braids, who have not yet given birth" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 1:216). This passage may be interpreted in several ways. The comment "who have not yet given birth" could conceivably allude to the assumed purity of virgins (a concept which is not otherwise significant in Egyptian sources), or more likely to physical changes in the female body which may follow childbirth. The passage could also indicate that the king desired women so youthful that they had not yet conceived.

Love poems in *P.Chester Beatty I* of the New Kingdom give a complete description of desirable attributes for women: "Upright neck, shining breast, hair true lapis lazuli, arms surpassing gold, fingers like lotus blossoms, heavy thighs and a narrow waist" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 2:182). These last two characteristics are particularly emphasized and exaggerated in sculpture. The beauty of female breasts is commented upon in *P.Harris 500* (Late New Kingdom), which equates "her breast, [with] the delicate scent of berries" (Foster 1974, 69). A text on the lid of the coffin of Wennefer from Sakkara praises the qualities of "beauteous, tressed, high-bosomed" women (Lichtheim 1973-80, 3:56). The desirability of being "high-bosomed" is taken to extremes in reliefs and sculptures of the Ptolemaic era, when absurdly high, rounded breasts are portrayed (Brooklyn Museum 1988, pl. XXVII, cat. nos. 3, 7, 14, 15, 17, 20, 28).

Certainly the idea of fertility was also seen as a measure of beauty, for references such as "She is a fertile field for her lord" are encountered in various contexts (Lichtheim 1973-80, 2:69). However, certain texts indicate mistrust of a beautiful woman. "Do not consort with a woman who consorts with your superior. If she is beautiful, keep away from her." (*P.Insinger* [Ptolemaic-Roman period], Lichtheim 1973-80, 3:188). So too, "If a woman is beautiful, you should show you are superior to her," (*P.Insinger*, Lichtheim 1973-80, 3:191).

Generally, age was associated with respect and wisdom. In the Setne tale, a man asked for information of another man, for "You have the appearance of a man of great age" (Setne I, Lichtheim 1973-80, 3:137). The negative aspects of aging are rarely mentioned or portrayed in representations. In statuary prior to the Ptolemaic period, age is most often conveyed by slight corpulence, or even by wrinkles of fat on the waist of otherwise slim figures.<sup>5</sup> An extraordinary relief from Dynasties 18-19, now in the Brooklyn Museum (47.120.11), portrays a man with a sagging face, deep lines in his face, and wrinkled hands (Fazzini 1989, no. 57). In the Ptolemaic period, a convention for representing the effects of age consisted of portraying deep furrows along the mouth.<sup>6</sup> The existence of prescriptions to forestall wrinkling and the appearance of age is another indication of the desirability of youthful appearance among the ancient Egyptians (Strouhal 1992, 89). There is little tradition of indicating infirmity. The rare examples of people with illness or disabilities include scenes of boatmen with what is taken to be the symptoms of bilharzia,<sup>7</sup> the depiction of the Queen of Punt (Smith 1958, pl. 92B), dwarfs,<sup>8</sup> a scene of a man with a drawn-up foot assumed to be the result of polio,<sup>9</sup> and men with what are assumed to be tumors (Ghaliougui 1963, pls. 8a-c), and hernias (Ghaliougui 1963, pls. 6-7).

Height was, in some cases, used to designate status. In New Kingdom iconography at Thebes, the king is the same height as the gods. There is rarely any differentiation in size between male and

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<sup>5</sup> This could also symbolize wealth; cf. the statue of Inyotef (Dynasty 12; British Museum 461). Corpulence is common in scenes of harpists, perhaps as an indication of their sedentary life.

<sup>6</sup> Among the examples, see Bothmer 1960, pls. 20 (MMA 25.2.1), 21 (Walters Art Gallery 152), 21 (?); 87 (Walters Art Gallery 197); 97 (Cleveland 48.141); 99 (Gulbenkian 46: referred to as a "wise man!"); 100 (MFA 1904.1749 "Boston Green Head").

<sup>7</sup> Tomb of Mehu at Sakkara, cited in *LdÄ* I 813-4.

<sup>8</sup> The best-known being the statue of Seneb, Aldred 1980, 76 fig. 37; note the representations in Dasen 1993.

<sup>9</sup> Stela of Remi, most conveniently in Strouhal 1992, 247, fig. 265.

female deities shown together (Plate 6).<sup>10</sup> In scenes of the king rewarding a retainer, the king is normally taller than the recipient of the award.<sup>11</sup> In portrayals of the tomb owner surveying his domain, he is much larger than his retainers.<sup>12</sup> There is more variability in depictions of a man with his wife. In two-dimensional representations, they may be shown the same height, or the woman may be dramatically smaller than her husband. This variation is apparently not based upon the time or place of a relief's manufacture, as demonstrated by the stelae from the Naga ed-Deir workshops (Dunham 1937). These monuments, which are all roughly contemporary, show dramatic variation in the relative height of the spouses, from the woman being the same height as her husband (Dunham 1937, pl. 29:1) to the wife reaching just above her husband's elbow (Dunham 1937, pls. 32-3). Formalized pair statues often show the couple the same height.<sup>13</sup>

### Body of the Gods

As is evident from representations, the gods could assume a variety of forms, many of them composite human/animal forms, the vast majority of which were a human body with animal head. Minor deities associated with the afterlife in the Underworld Books such as the Book of Caverns, Book of Gates, and *Amduat* were often pictured as mummiform beings with human, animal, or emblematic heads. The gods could also assume less tangible forms referred to as their "secret" or "hidden" forms. The New Kingdom Litany of Re fo-

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<sup>10</sup> For such an exception, see the Mycerinus triads in Saleh and Sourouzzian 1986, 33.

<sup>11</sup> A notable exception to this is the scene of the priest Amunhotep being rewarded by Ramesses IX at Karnak (*PM* II 172 [505]-[506]).

<sup>12</sup> See Wilkinson 1994, 44-51 for further comments about relative and absolute size in compositions.

<sup>13</sup> Wilkinson 1994, 46. Examples where the couple are the same size (references to Saleh and Sourouzzian 1986): Rahotep and Nofret (Dynasty 4, no. 27); False door of Ikaure (Dynasty 5, no. 57); stela of Amenemhet (Dynasty 11, no. 79). Unequal in size: Mersuankh and his wife (Dynasty 5, no. 51); Neferherptah (Dynasty 6, no. 56), Khaemwase and Manama (Dynasty 18, no. 152); Khonsu (Dynasty 19, no. 216). In the Amarna period, there was a tendency to depict the queen as being considerably shorter than the king. See nos. 164-7, 188.

cuses on these hidden forms and the ability of the god to transform himself into any desired form: "Re ... the Lord of the Caverns, with hidden forms" (Piankoff 1964, 22.1). "Mysterious of face" is an epithet of Re in the Litany (Piankoff 1964, 25, 37). This text, in particular, emphasizes the many transformations of the god Re and the multiplicity of his bodies (Piankoff 1964, 22.4, 29,32). In a similar manner, in the Contendings of Horus and Seth (New Kingdom), Isis, normally portrayed in entirely human form, transformed herself into a statue of flint after her head was taken by Horus (Simpson 1973, 118-19).

In their anthropomorphized form, the gods are shown in the prime of health, with broad, well-muscled chest, slim waist and hips, and defined musculature in the legs. Goddesses in human form are always slim and beautiful, as related in a hymn to Isis: "Isis ... who fills heaven and earth with her beauty" (Žabkar 1988, 107). Representations of deities even depict a most human characteristic: the navel. The similarity of the form of the anthropomorphized god and the ideal of human physical perfection is explained by the texts that indicate that the gods created mankind in their own image. One such text relates that "Re has given you as his image" (Rahotep, Dynasty 13, see also Goedicke 1993, 41-5), while the Instruction for Merikare notes that "They [mankind] are his [the god's] images, who came from his body" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 1:106).

Some specific aspects of the physical features of gods are mentioned in texts. The god Osiris is normally shown with a tall crown that obscures any hair. Yet a passage from a text on the one of the burial shrines of Tutankhamun refers to the king [who] combs the hair of Osiris" (Piankoff 1955, 61). Like their offspring, the gods were not mute. Not only are the walls of the temples covered with scenes of the gods interacting with the king and accompanied by inscriptions phrased in direct discourse ("Words said by the god..."), but in the Underworld Books of the New Kingdom, as the god passes by the spirits, it is said that "They live through the voice of this great god."<sup>14</sup>

Although gods and humans shared much in their bodily forms, gods could be distinguished from humans in several ways. One was

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<sup>14</sup> For example, Piankoff 1955, 82.

by their odor, for the divine presence could be signaled by a pleasing fragrance.<sup>15</sup> Other divine characteristics were flesh of gold, limbs of other precious substances and a head of lapis lazuli. The Book of the Dead describes Osiris as: "He is the golden of body, blue of head, on whose arms is turquoise" (introductory hymn: Faulkner 1972, 27). The god who took the form of a snake in the tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor was described as "plated with gold and his markings were of real lapis lazuli" (Simpson 1973, 52). In the Story of the Herdsman (Goedicke 1970, Naguib 1990, 15), the body of the goddess who provocatively presents herself is described as being "smooth and cool like blue faience (*ṯḥnt*)," a substance that resembles true lapis. In the Westcar Papyrus, the divine form of the king is described as "strong boned, his limbs overlaid with gold, his headdress of true lapis lazuli" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 1:220). In the temple of Seti I at Kanais (Wadi Mia), the gold retrieved by the miners is referred to as "the flesh of the gods" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 2:55). This description is echoed in religious iconography where the flesh tone of the gods is often a yellowish hue. The wood statue of Ptah recovered from the tomb of Tutankhamun beautifully illustrates this: his body is covered with gold leaf and his headdress is coated with blue glaze (Edwards 1976, pl. 22). Statues of deified humans could be covered with gold leaf to symbolize their association with the gods.<sup>16</sup>

### The King's Body

Much of what has been mentioned about both the form of the gods, after whom mankind was patterned, and mankind itself, applies to the king. However, as might be expected with the person who was the link between the divine and profane spheres, there are more frequent attestations of the association of the king and his creators. The king is explicitly referred to as "the living image of

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<sup>15</sup> The presence of the god Amun was known to Queen Ahmose, for "She waked at the fragrance of the god who she smelled in the presence of his majesty" (Sethe and Helck 1906-55, 219.13-4. The word for "incense" (*snṯr*) is a pun on the word "to be deified" (*snṯr*).

<sup>16</sup> Amunhotep Son of Hapu (Oriental Institute Museum 14321: Teeter 1995).

the god upon earth."<sup>17</sup> The invocation of a god on the stela behind the colossal statues of Amunhotep III at Thebes evokes a common theme when the god intones that the king is one "Who came forth from my limbs, my image which I have placed on earth" (Sethe and Helck 1906-55, 1676:1-2). In the Litany of Re, every part of the king's body is equated with deities (Piankoff 1964, 38). A text on one of the Tutankhamun shrines relates that "Your [the king's] members are his [the god's] members" (Piankoff 1955, 72).

This closeness of the king's body with the gods' is stressed repeatedly in royal epithets such as "seed of the gods," "offspring of the god," "of his [the god's] body," "bodily son of [the god]," "shining seed of the god's body" (Sphinx Stela of Amunhotep II, Lichtheim 1973-80, 2:39). The Piye stela (Dynasty 25) explicitly relates "I was fashioned in the womb, created in the egg of the god! The seed of the god is in me!" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 3:73).

## References to Particular Parts of the Human Body

### 1. The Nose

The nose had a special significance because of the association of air with the ability to live.<sup>18</sup> The nose was considered to be an effective pathway to the very soul of the being. For example, the Poetical Stela of Thutmose III (Dynasty 18) relates: "I robbed their nostrils of the breath of life" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 2:36), i.e. I killed them. The obelisk of Hatshepsut is incised with a text that reads, in part: "My nostrils are refreshed with life and dominion" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 2:28). In the Instructions of Merikara (Dynasties 10-11), it is stated that the god "made the breath for their noses to live" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 1:106), i.e. he brought them to life. An important feature of the opening of the mouth ceremony was touching the nose of the mummy to allow life to reenter the body and therefore revive the deceased in the afterlife.

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<sup>17</sup> Most obvious in the *nomen* of Tutankhamun, which means "The Living Image of the God Amun."

<sup>18</sup> As the "breath of Life" which could be granted by the god or the king.

## 2. The Heart

The heart, rather than the brain, was considered to be the seat of emotion. Moods are phrased in relationship to the condition of the heart: *ʾw jb* "wide of heart" (happy); *šmh-jb* "distract the heart" (enjoyment); *šm-jb* "stout of heart" (brave); *wḥ jb* "enduring of heart" (patient); *rdj jb m-sʾ* "place the heart after" (to be anxious); *rdj jb hnt*, "to place the heart before" (to pay attention to); *hr jb n* "upon the heart" (in the opinion of). The Poetical Stela of Thutmose III relates: "[I] made the dread of you pervade their hearts" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 2:36). "My heart is happy when I see your beauty" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 2:46), "His majesty was mighty, his heart stout, one could not stand before him" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 2:62).<sup>19</sup>

The Late Egyptian Miscellanies (Late New Kingdom) contain references such as "your heart is perturbed" (*P.Anastasi* IV.5.1: Caminos 1954, 131); "Do not give your heart to pleasures" (*P.Anastasi* V 8.2: Caminos 1954, 231); "Do not give your heart to the covert" (*P.Lansing*, 21: Caminos 1954, 374). An autobiographical inscription refers to "A daughter who is in my heart" (Stela Cairo 42208: Otto 1954, 139-43).

In rarer examples, such as a passage from the Kanais temple of Seti I, the heart is likened more closely to the seat of reckoning and intelligence: "Another good deed has come into my heart by god's command" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 2:54). This same idea is echoed in the stela of Redi-chemn (Dynasty 11): "It was my heart that furthered my rank. It was my character that kept me in front" (Lichtheim 1988, 43). A passage in *P.Insinger* is a bit more oblique: "He who knows how to hold his heart has the equivalent of every teaching" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 3:191). The heart may be equated with the entire human and his or her range of empathy and loyalties: "Every heart acclaims the sight of you" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 2:91).

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<sup>19</sup> See Lloyd 1989, 119, n. 10 for additional references to the heart.



## Hair and Hygiene

A sense of the societal norm for hygiene can be determined from the Egyptian texts. As in the Islamic Middle East, great attention was paid to bodily cleanliness and in particular to the removal of body hair. Representations of priests indicate that many shaved their head. Certain classes of priests, such as the *is*, who acted as an intermediary of the god, were distinguished by shaving the forehead and allowing the back hair to grow long.<sup>20</sup> The hair of the Iunmutef priest was shaved with the exception of a curled sidelock on the side of the head (*LdÄ* III:212-3). According to Herodotus, priests shaved their entire body, a practice which may have been followed in the earlier period as well: "The priests shave their whole bodies every other day, so that when they conduct rituals, they will be free of lice and other uncleanness" (Herodotus, II.37). Scenes showing attendants shaving the pubic areas of priests are shown in the Old Kingdom tombs of Ankhmahor and Khnumhotep (Roth 1991, 66-70).

The removal of hair, at least from the face and body,<sup>21</sup> as a sign of cleanliness was not restricted to priests. It is assumed that removal of body hair was practiced by men and women of the upper classes. In the Tale of Sinuhe, the protagonist claims: "Years were removed from my body: I was shaved, my hair was combed" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 1:233). In the Instruction of Ani, a temptress declares that she is literally "smooth" (nꜥꜥ) or hairless, in a declaration of her beauty (Lichtheim 1973-80, 2:137).<sup>22</sup> Certainly great numbers of copper and bronze razors and tweezers are physical reminders of this practice, as are recipes for depilatories (*P.Hearst* 154 [X.16], 155 [X.17] published in Reisner 1905).<sup>23</sup> The Instruc-

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<sup>20</sup> The best known example is Montuemhet (Cairo JE 36933), in Bothmer 1960, pl. 12. The inscription of the statue of the *is* priest Amoneminet (Luxor Museum J141) refers to "give me ... sweet oil for my shaved head ..." See Pinch 1993, 333-5.

<sup>21</sup> The statement that the Egyptians routinely removed the hair from their heads persists in modern literature, despite the fact that many mummies have hair on their heads.

<sup>22</sup> See Derchain 1975 for further associations of hairlessness with eroticism.

<sup>23</sup> See Schoske 1990, 116-7 for a selection of tweezers and razors.

tions of Onchshoshenqy includes the recommendation: "Do not often clean yourself with water alone" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 3:172), which may be a reminder to shave in addition to washing.

Untrimmed hair on a man was considered to be unkempt, but it also could be a sign of mourning. As recorded by Herodotus (II:36), "In other nations, the relatives of the deceased in times of mourning cut their hair, but the Egyptians, who shave at all other times, mark a death by letting the hair grow, both on head and chin." Although mustaches and short goatees were socially acceptable for upper-class men in certain periods, most men with beards were designated as non-Egyptian. Bearded men, who from clothing and coloration appear to be Egyptians, are most usually lower class workmen.<sup>24</sup>

However, hair was also considered to have an erotic attraction. Scenes of hairdressing preserved in tombs (Derchain 1975, 66-8) and on the sarcophagus of Queen Kawit (Saleh and Sourouzian 1986, fig. 68b) attest to the attraction of hair. Three of the scenes of sexual intercourse shown in the Turin Erotic Papyrus (Omlin 1973, pl. 13) portray the man tugging on the hair of his partner, apparently a reference to the erotic allure of hair. Religious texts refer to the beautiful tresses of the goddess Hathor, while Renepet-neferet was known as "the one with beautiful hair" (Derchain 1975, 59 and Naguib 1990, 101). In the tale of Two Brothers, the scent of a lock of hair of the duplicitous wife of Bata enchanted the king (Lichtheim 1973-80, 2:209-10).

As in many cultures, there was a concern with graying hair. *P.Ebers* (prescription no. 459) contains the remedy "to render the hair black again: blood of a black ox and smear on the head." Representations of Egyptians with gray hair, however, are rare.<sup>25</sup> The premature loss of hair was clearly a matter of distress, as indicated by remedies for increasing hair growth (*P.Ebers*, nos. 465, 474). So

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<sup>24</sup> See, for example, Davies 1944, pl. 58, for bearded men making bricks, and Berlin ostrakon 23731 of a workman (in Priese 1991, no. 52).

<sup>25</sup> See Janssen and Janssen 1996, 23-5. Additional examples include Pashed (Zivie 1979, 63-6, pls. 23-4 and Janssen 1996, cover), Sennedjem (Shedid 1994, 78), and perhaps Sennefer (Desroches-Noblecourt 1986, 45), as well as workmen shown in the tomb of Nakht (Eggebrecht 1993, figs. 66-70).

too, the presence of hairpieces and wigs found on mummies or in tombs (Fletcher 2000; Harris and Wente 1980, 18; Scott 1973, no. 28; Petrie 1902, pl. 4.7 [tomb of Djer]) indicates the sense of value placed on a full head of hair. Hair apparently was closely associated with an individual personality; the lock of hair recovered from the tomb of Tutankhamun has been identified as a memento of a favored relative, Queen Tiye (Harris 1978).

As in the Islamic world, praise of the god may have always been preceded by washing. Brief labels on the door jambs of temples indicate that specific levels of purity were required for entrance.<sup>26</sup> The Hymn to the Aton relates: "As you cast your rays, the Two Lands are in festivity. Awake, they stand on their feet, you have roused them; Bodies cleansed, clothed, their arms adore your appearance" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 2:97). Herodotus records that priests washed themselves with cold water twice a day and twice at night (Herodotus, II.39). So too, it may have been the general custom to wash before eating as indicated by "Pharaoh cleansed himself for a banquet" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 3:142), and the depiction of basins and ewers near stacks of food offerings on funerary stelae (Dunham 1937, pl. 34; Teeter 1994, 19 [no. 3]).

The Egyptians' desire to be clean is also seen in their emphasis upon perfumes and ointment. Thousands of perfume vessels have survived from the Pharaonic period. In the New Kingdom and into the Ptolemaic period, it was the custom to wear a cone of perfumed fat on one's head during festivities. The perfume would slowly melt and perfume the wearer, much like modern deodorant.<sup>27</sup>

### Circumcision

Male purity was dependent upon circumcision. The importance of this ritual is well illustrated by the Piye stela (Dynasty 25), which relates that two local rulers of Upper Egypt came to the palace. "They could not enter the palace because they were uncircum-

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<sup>26</sup> For example, on the door jambs of the side rooms in the Temple of Ramesses II at Abydos, and on the jambs of the door from the Cachette Court to the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, which declare: *w'b sp sn* "Be twice pure."

<sup>27</sup> For these cones, see Maraite 1992.

cised and were eaters of fish, which is an abomination to the palace. But Namrat entered the palace because he was clean and did not eat fish" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 3:80).<sup>28</sup> Herodotus states that "The [Egyptians] practice circumcision, while men of other nations, except for those who have learned from Egypt, leave their private parts as nature made them." In reference to priests, Herodotus comments: "They circumcise themselves for cleanliness' sake, preferring to be clean rather than comely" (Herodotus, II.38-40).

Scenes of circumcision appear in the tomb of Ankhmahor (Dynasty 6) (Harris and Wente 1980, fig. 2.2), and in the Temple of Mut at Karnak (Fazzini 1988, 12-3 and pl. IV.2). An inscription on a stela from the Girga district (First Intermediate Period) in the collection of The Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago (OIM 16956) is engraved with a biography which includes the statement: "I was circumcised (?) along with 120 men. There was none whom I struck, and none who struck me among them; there was none whom I scratched and none who scratched me among them" (Dunham 1937, 102-3 and pl. XXXII).

According to Westendorf, circumcision was performed in the second decade of a boy's life.<sup>29</sup> Certainly the scene showing circumcision in the tomb of Ankhmahor may portray a male of that age. Examinations of male mummies confirm that circumcision was commonly practiced (Harris and Wente 1980, 11, 14, 65, 237).<sup>30</sup>

Evidence for female "circumcision" is much less clear. Although Strabo (*Geography* XVII 2.5) recorded that "one of the customs most zealously observed among the [Egyptians] is this, that they ... circumcise the males and excise (*ektemnein*) the females," the sole ref-

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<sup>28</sup> For additional references, see Stracmans 1985, 292-7. See also the comments of Roth 1991, 62-75 for circumcision and priestly roles, and Old Kingdom scenes and references to the procedure, and *ibid.*, 66-70, for the suggestion that the scene in the tomb of Ankhmahor may show a priest being shaved rather than circumcised.

<sup>29</sup> *LdÄ* 1:727-9. See the comments of Wente in Harris and Wente 1980, 237.

<sup>30</sup> There is some confusion about the body of Amunhotep II reflected in recent literature. Ikram and Dodson (1997) state that "he was uncircumcised," but the primary study of that mummy (Smith 1912, 37) reports that "like all other known adult Egyptian men, Amenothos II was circumcised."

erence to the practice appears in a letter written in Greek, dated to 163 B.C. It refers to a woman who gave a man a sum of money to "cut" her daughter "according to the Egyptian custom."<sup>31</sup> D. Montserrat (1996, 43) has commented that "perhaps the strongest argument against female circumcision as a regular Egyptian practice is the absence of any implication of it in the gynaecological texts of the Dynastic and subsequent periods." Unfortunately, little of the literature dealing with actual examination of female mummies comments upon the evidence for this practice, largely because of the difficulty of determining whether a female mummy has been circumcised. Even the use of computed tomography (CT) has not been able to add appreciably to our knowledge of the actual physiology of female mummies.

### Elimination

One of the few references to the process of elimination relates: "The rear [of the body is] to aerate the entrails" (Hymn to Khonsu, Lichtheim 1973-80, 3:113). Feces were considered to be extremely unclean. In the Instructions of Any (New Kingdom), the relationship of child and mother is characterized as "As you grew, your excrement was disgusting, but she [your mother] was not repelled, she did not exclaim 'what am I going to do!' " (Lichtheim 1973-80, 2:141). So too in Book of the Dead, Chapter 125, the deceased, as a part of his profession of innocence and worth states "... my hind parts are clean."

The sense of impurity of human waste is clearly indicated in the Book of the Dead, which characterize the realm of the damned as being a place where the deceased lived upside down, ate feces and drank urine. A number of spells contain variations upon: "Spell for not eating dung in the gods' domain ... I will not touch it with my hands, I will not step on it with the soles of my feet ..." (BD 52, 53, 82, 144b, 189). Demons who guarded the third gate of the Underworld were called *wnm ḥwʾt nt ph.f* "Those who eat the filth of their backsides" (BD 144b).

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<sup>31</sup> Brunner 1991, 77-8. See also Montserrat 1991; note Janssen and Janssen

## Conception

There was a clear understanding of the role of semen in conception. The tale of Setne relates: "She lay down by the side of her husband. She received [the fluid of] conception from him" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 3:138). A Hymn to Khonsu relates: "The male member to beget, the female womb to conceive, and increase generations in Egypt" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 3:113). In the Contendings of Horus and Seth, Seth became pregnant from ingesting a plant covered with the semen of Horus (Simpson 1973, 120), indicating that it was clearly understood that the ejaculate was the source of conception. This is also symbolized by the "lettuce" plant which was associated with fertility because of its milky white sap.<sup>32</sup>

A passage such as "You are not a man since you are unable to make your wives pregnant like your fellow men,"<sup>33</sup> is further proof that the Egyptians clearly understood the relationship of coitus and conception. This is still further indicated by medical prescriptions for barrenness and also for inducing abortion (*LdÄ* II:757).

So too there was an awareness that the cessation of menstruation in a woman of childbearing years indicated pregnancy. In the Setne tales, it is related that "When [her time of purification came she had] the sign of a woman who has conceived" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 3:138).

References to life beginning in the womb are not uncommon: "To give life to the young in the womb" is mentioned in the Hymn for Khonsu (Lichtheim 1973-80, 3:112), and there are many references to greatness while "still in the womb (egg)" in laudatory texts of the New Kingdom.

Texts indicate that the purely erotic pleasure of intercourse was enjoyed as a sensual bond between partners. "He slept with me that night and found me [pleasing. He slept with] me again and again and again, we loved each other" (Setne I, Lichtheim 1973-80, 3:128).

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1990, 90 for the statement that female circumcision was not practiced.

<sup>32</sup> *LdÄ* III, 938-9. Hence the lettuce's association with Min, a god of fecundity. The lettuce is also shown in the hands of statues, in particular block statues, as an allusion to rebirth: Schulz 1992, vol. 1, pls. 1a, 59c, 60b, 61c, 63b, 68b, 87b, 93b, 96c, 119b, 123c.

<sup>33</sup> *O.Berlin* 10627 in Wente 1990, 149.

Formulas for contraception are indicators of this form of physical expression (*LdA* I: 1227-8). However, the Instructions of Onchshe-shonqy are more sarcastic, relating that "Man is even more eager to copulate than a donkey. It is his purse that restrains him" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 3:178).

Furthermore, the relationship of menopause to the inability to conceive was recognized as indicated by a letter of Ramesses II to the Hittite king Hattushili. In that note, preserved in Akkadian, the Egyptian king responds to the request of the Hittite to send him a doctor who may make the Hittite ruler's "sister" pregnant. He wrote "See, Matanazi, the sister of my brother ... isn't she fifty, no, even sixty years old? See, a doctor is no use for a woman who is fifty or sixty years old for she is unable to conceive."<sup>34</sup>

### Menstruation, Childbirth, and Purification

An ostrakon from Medinet Habu refers to the *st ḥmw* the "place of women," which T. Wilfong has suggested may be an area where women stayed while they were menstruating. These areas are called *ḥrr.t* in Ptolemaic-era sources (Wilfong 2000). The passage in the Satire of the Trades that mentions that the washerman "even gives (or cleans?) the skirts of a menstruating woman,"<sup>35</sup> can be interpreted as general distaste for blood, or even, in keeping with the overall theme of the text, a satirical comment upon a man having to wash a woman's clothing. Wilfong has concluded that there is "no evidence for a formal universal taboo against women in menstruation," and that "there is no evidence to support earlier assumptions that women's menstruation was seen as a negative part of women's lives" (Wilfong 2000).

Although the legal and ethical aspects of legitimacy of children in ancient Egypt are vague, it appears that under normal circumstances, children were born to couples who had established a residence, or whom the community considered to be "married."<sup>36</sup> This is

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<sup>34</sup> Edel 1976, 69-70. I thank Robert Biggs for this reference.

<sup>35</sup> For this reading and commentary, see Wilfong 2000.

<sup>36</sup> Some of the complexities of this problem involve determining what elements constituted a "marriage." See Johnson 1996, 179-85 for a discussion of

indicated in the Blinding of Truth by Falsehood where the son of a woman and father Truth was mocked by other children since his father was unknown (Simpson 1973, 129-30).

Figured ostraca from Deir el Medina which show a woman in a small shelter suckling a child have been interpreted as a birth pavilion, a special area where a new mother spent the days after delivery (Robins 1993, 83-4). These ostraca depict the woman with a characteristic hairstyle, with the locks pulled up and cascading down from a central "pony tail" (British Museum EA 8506, in Robins 1993, fig. 22).

In one of the few references to post-partum ceremonies, Ruddedet, who bore the first three kings of the Fifth Dynasty, is described in a Middle Kingdom story as having "cleansed herself in a cleansing of 14 days" (Lichtheim 1973-80, 1:221), probably a reference to a period of seclusion following childbirth, a tradition which is still maintained in parts of the Middle East and elsewhere. This suggests that a woman was considered to be impure (or in a special state?) for a set interval following childbirth.

### Final Remarks

This survey suggests that the ancient Egyptians had a positive body image. Not only were they not puritanical about exposing their bodies, but the many references to the belief that their bodies were fashioned after the gods emphasizes this sense of comfort with their self-image. The reliefs and statues which portrayed the Egyptians as slim, long-legged and youthful served the purpose of immortalizing them in that ideal form for eternity.

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marriage in ancient Egypt, and of the *imyt-pr* documents, which were once considered to be marriage contracts, but are now recognized as contracts that stipulate the disposition of property held individually and in common by the man and woman.



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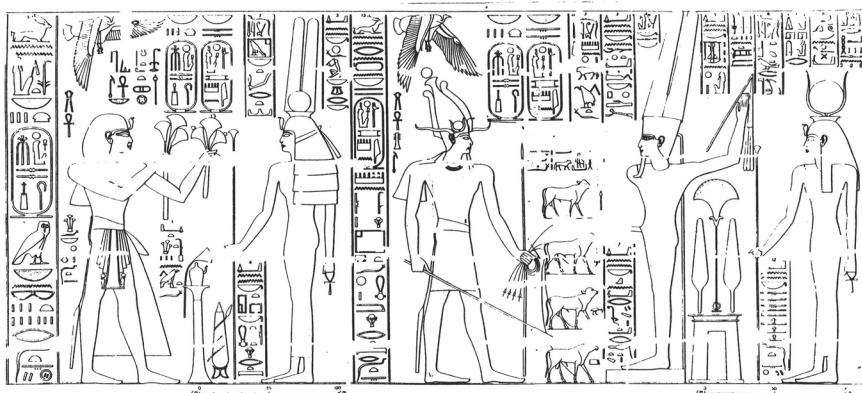
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## Plate 6

(to Teeter, "The Body in Ancient Egypt ...")



Scene of king Ramesses III with the gods. The gods, like the king, are slim, long-legged, broad-shouldered and youthful. The king is the same height as the gods, and there is no difference in height between the gods and goddesses. The god Amun-Re-Kamutef (second from right) is shown in his ithyphallic form. (Reproduced by courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).

## Embodying Archaeology: Theory and Praxis\*

To be a body, is to be tied to a certain world,  
as we have seen; our body is not  
primarily *in* space, it is of it.

M. Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*. 1962, 148

### Introduction

For more than 20 years the body has provided a critical site for theorizing society and self within the social sciences, prompting new constellations of meaning on concepts from sex to science, from the individual to the institution, from domination to *différance*, and from power to the body politic. Within the scope of this paper I attempt to contextualize the burgeoning field of *the body* in terms of archaeological and gendered discourse by examining its intellectual legacy, the current formulations being applied, and the limitations and potentiality for such an approach. This dialogue incorporates recent discussions in sociology, anthropology, queer theory, feminist studies and archaeology. It begins with an historical overview, followed by a discussion on the contextual constitution of sex and gender, with its surrounding debates. It also considers recent critique in the social sciences of Cartesian dualism and the more extreme formulations of social constructionism. The paper then addresses archaeology's adoption of the body, its fascination with Foucault and its primary focus upon power, at the expense of the embodied individual and agency. To conclude, it offers one tentative option for

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\* I would like to thank Terry Wilfong and Dominic Monserrat for their support, enthusiasm and expertise throughout the project. As always, I am indebted to Ian Hodder as he sparked my interest in the topic during our repeated debates on *the body*. This paper was written between 1994-5 and has not been subsequently revised. Variations on the themes of this paper have appeared as Meskell 1996, 1998 and 1999.

divesting the discipline of rigid categorizations and prioritizing specific discourses of difference, through the identification of constructions of self or identity within the context of Egyptian archaeology.

### Theorised Bodies

Philosophers have elevated the body as a theoretical space from Classical antiquity to the present. Writers such as Plato, Aristotle and Philo emphasized the distinct spheres of mind and body with its corollary division of reason and emotion. The Pythagoreans of the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. had already established a list of principles associated with determinate form and goodness, and their inferior opposites which were irregular, formless and negative. The table consisted of 10 contrasts: limit/unlimited, odd/even, one/many, right/left, male/female, rest/motion, straight/curved, light/dark, good/bad, square/oblong. As Lloyd (1993) has illustrated in her comprehensive work, such polarities reached their full expression in the prevailing attitudes to the sexes. This tradition can further be traced through the major thinkers of Western philosophy: Augustine, Aquinas, Bacon, Descartes, Hume, Rousseau, Kant, and Hegel. Each perpetuates a form of hierarchical bifurcation: mind and body, reason and emotion, male and female.

The nature:culture divide also pervades the body literature and has been traced directly to Descartes and his essential separation of mind and body, the former being privileged over the latter. However, the Cartesian dichotomy only served to highlight a mode of discourse in operation for over 2000 years. Such premises were to be challenged by Spinoza (*Ethics*, III, Prop. 2), who opted for a more holistic treatment whereby a system of integration was preferable. The body, *being* and power were also at issue in the work of Nietzsche whose lineage was later extended in Foucault's work on genealogy and power (Gosden 1994, 142; Lash 1991, 256). Indeed much philosophy, sociology and anthropology (Braidotti 1989; Butler 1990a, 1990b; De Lauretis 1986; Foucault 1977, 1978, 1985, 1986; Giddens 1984, 1992; Grosz 1994; Laqueur 1990; Moore 1994; Seidler 1989; Shilling 1993) still centers on the body as a theoretical space. The body has become the site of mapped and inscribed social relations, specifically displays and negotiations of power and gender dynamics. This continuance of the Western pre-occupation



with exteriority has been amply critiqued and theorized in the social sciences, yet is often adopted wholesale, as in archaeology, with little cognizance of the inherent structures and trajectories that we have acquired.

The body as a frame of discourse has become a central project of high modernity. It has become both a theoretical space and a classificatory system for scholars such as Foucault, Elias, Goffman, Lacan, Bourdieu, Baudrillard, Giddens, Turner, Sennet, etc. and for various schools of feminists. Just when pro-active women are seeking to reclaim their bodies in a very real sense within our own society, the body has been appropriated once again within the realm of academic conceptualizations and discourses of power. However, one underlying concern is the way in which feminism has uncritically adopted many philosophical assumptions regarding the role of the body in social, political, cultural, psychical and sexual life which is similarly somehow complicit in much of the misogyny that characterizes Western reason. This Cartesian bifurcation does not represent a neutral division but is hierarchized and ranked, thus privileging one term and suppressing and subordinating the other. In such an equation *body* is simply what is not *mind*, what is distinct from and other than the privileged term. It is what the mind must expel in order to secure its "integrity." The body is depicted as disruptive and in need of ordered direction. It is merely incidental to the defining characteristics of mind and reason which are privileged within philosophical thought (Gatens 1994, 99; Grosz 1994, 3). In essence, Cartesian dualism establishes an unbridgeable gulf between mind and matter. This false dichotomy has serious implications for our (re)construction of individuals in an archaeological past and, more specifically, for feminist scholars who are attempting to challenge the inherently phallogocentric modes of thinking within Western intellectualism.

## Sexed Bodies

Natural evolution produced the orchid.  
Is our technological history making us  
into carnal orchids, showy sex-organs,  
that no longer rise on their own stems,  
blend their own saps, or impregnate each other?  
Alphonso Lingis, *Foreign Bodies*. 1994, ix.

Part of our central dilemma in our discourse on the body must be seen as terminological. Few scholars specifically define their terms of reference and thus we cannot assume consensus on even basic designations. The terms "sex," "gender," "sexuality," "gender relations" and "social relations" are wrongly assumed to have common meaning to all groups and in fact are used in a number of quite distinct and different ways (Moore 1994, 6). Hence these terms can never refer to pure concepts. In archaeology there have been at least two strident reactions to the concepts of *sex* and *gender*, both fundamentally flawed. First, that the two entities are quite distinct, with *sex* representing the externalized manifestation of a biological given and *gender* as a socially constituted elaboration which overlays itself on the former. I aim to show that these two fundamental concepts may in fact be similarly constituted (see also Yates 1990; Yates & Nordbladh 1990), if they are not one and the same. The second reaction has been to leave both terms untheorized with *gender* and *sex* collapsed in upon each other so that the resultant examinations simply analyze predetermined categories of *males* and *females* as broad, but dichotomous groupings. This suggests that a form of essentialism was operative in the past, and further implies that such a situation exists in contemporary contexts. I take *essentialism* to have two definitions that are relevant for the examination of social dynamics in archaeology: first, that particular things have intrinsic essences that serve to identify them as particular; and second, that abstract entities or universals exist across time and space. Such a position regards *woman*, or *man* for that matter, as a "given" which is transhistorical and transcultural and constant over the trajectories of age, status and/or ethnicity: whereas the contributions of recent feminist theory and more particularly, masculinist theory, challenge such a stance.

The problem of disembedding sex and gender remains. Laqueur's impressive study has shown that sex is also a contextual issue and that the notion of two distinct sexes depends very much on the site of knowledge production. The location of his discussion, and indeed mine for the entirety of this paper, is restricted within the confines of Western intellectualism. Prior to the Enlightenment a one-sex model held prominence, influenced largely by classical authors such as Plato, Aristotle and Galen, who proposed that female biology was merely a variation on the male. Even language marks this view: for example, the ovary was left without a name of its own for two millennia. Galen simply referred to it by the word he used for the male testes, *orcheis*, exemplifying this female-as-male model (Laqueur 1990, 4-5). In fact Laqueur pushes the issue further by suggesting that in pre-Enlightenment texts *sex* must be understood as the epiphenomenon, while *gender* (what we would take to be a cultural category) was primary or "real." Thus sex before the seventeenth century was still a sociological and not an ontological category (Laqueur 1990, 8). It is important to note that by 1800 various writers were arguing for fundamental differences between the male and female sexes. Whatever the setting, the particular construction and understanding of *sex* cannot be isolated from its discursive milieu (see Foucault 1972, 52, 157).

As I have argued, binary separations such as mind:body have been prevailing preoccupations within Western intellectualism. Ultimately sex:gender could be seen within this dualistic framework. Both Laqueur and Butler have proposed that there is no distinction at all between sex and gender. As a practitioner of queer theory Butler (1990b, 6-9, 1993, 1) asserts it is no longer tenable to advocate the existence of prediscursive "sex" which acts as the stable referent on top of which the cultural construction of gender proceeds. The category of sex is, from the outset, normative or in Foucauldian terms, a regulatory ideal. Furthermore, we cannot assume that biological sex everywhere provides the universalist basis for the cultural categories *male* and *female*. Consider the now widely published and theorized case of the Native American *berdache* or "two-spirit" (Jacobs 1994, 7). Sex, as far as we understand it within the terms of western discourse, is something that differentiates between bodies, while gender is the set of variable social constructions

placed upon those differentiated bodies. It is precisely this formula which obscures rather than clarifies when it comes to cross-cultural analyses of sex, sexual difference and gender (Moore 1994, 14).

The current feminist refiguring of the body constitutes the site of further socio-political intrigue illustrated by the various positions taken up by groups. Many now elevate and bestow primacy upon the body, specifically the female body, as the critical metaphor and motif exemplifying not only "our" strengths but "our" seemingly timeless struggles. The body offers feminists a voice, yet it often appears to be an a-historical, essentialist, unitary voice. It assumes a commonality between women that is precultural and transhistorical. There are inherent problems for feminists who uncritically adopt the body as an icon for their pro-active political position. Some radical feminist epistemologists and ecofeminists (see Meskell 1995, 83) attempt to privilege the female body, which in itself relies on dangerous assumptions of biologism and naturalism, and it is these discourses which we need to divorce ourselves from. Consider the different types of female body—the differences between women on the bases of race, class and sexuality alone. Women's corporeal specificity is used to explain and justify the different, and unequal, social positions and cognitive abilities of the two sexes (Grosz 1994, 14). This universalist, over-riding pre-occupation does not represent the totality of all women's experience and continues to be a totalizing, oppressive metanarrative.

Another group of feminist theorists who engage with the body are social constructionists, such as Mitchell, Barrett, Kristeva, and Chodorow, or Marxist and psychoanalytic feminists who are committed to the notion of the social construction of subjectivity. They too see the body as biologically determined and fixed, adhere to a-historical notions of the body and retain the mind/body dualism. Bodies provide the raw material base for the inculcation of and interpolation into ideology but are merely media of communication rather than the object or focus of ideological (re)production (Grosz 1994, 16-7). Presuming that biology or sex is fixed, feminists have tended to focus on transformations at the level of gender and its corresponding cultural meanings and values.

A third group situates itself in terms of sexual difference, which includes Irigaray, Spivak, Gatens, Butler, Cixous, Schor and Wittig.

For them the body is crucial to women's psychical and social existence though it is no longer understood as an a-historical, biologically given, a-cultural object. They are concerned with the *lived body* so far as it is specifically represented and used in particular cultures. The body is not passively mapped, but is interwoven with, and constitutive of, systems of meaning, signification, and representation (see Meskell 1998, 1999). On the one hand it is a signifying and signified body; on the other it is an object of systems of social coercion, legal inscription, and sexual and economic exchange (Grosz 1994, 18). The body is thus regarded as the political, social and cultural object par excellence, not the raw, passive body that is overlaid and inscribed with culture. However, if we are to engage in the body dialogue surely we must regard it not only as a site of social, political, cultural and geographical mapping but as recursively engaged in production or constitution.

What underlies, quite insidiously, the body project is the antique belief that women are well situated within the flesh zone as designated by men. What is doubly disconcerting is that some feminists are actively pursuing and claiming this site as their own forum of expertise without recognizing this undesirable heritage. Reclamation of *individual* bodies, rather than universalist collectives, may be our way out of the dilemma. Grosz argues (1994, 22) that if corporeality can no longer be linked with one sex, then women can no longer take on the function of being *the body* for men, who are left free to soar to the heights of theoretical reflection and cultural production, just as people of color, indigenous people, or slaves can no longer fulfil the role of the *working body* for white elites, who are free to create values, morality, knowledges. In view of this assertion, the central dilemma for gender studies within our field is that they have claimed the body as their own area of specialty and positioned themselves as privileged in these discourses. However, in retrospect, by claiming or reclaiming the body we have failed to produce any radical perspectives or alternatives, but have simply adhered to the dichotomous structures already established by elite western males since the time of Descartes. Some feminists have failed to see the lineage of their current position or to realize that they have simply subscribed to a subordinating and deterministic paradigm. This has serious implications for gender theorists

in archaeology whose project it has been to radically alter the discipline, offer fresh insights and an altogether different framework through which to conduct archaeological interpretation. The above assertions would suggest that these objectives have been impeded and that the way forward does not lie with further analyses of the Body in any naturalistic, biological or extreme social constructionist sense.

### **Archaeological Bodies**

In view of the above contextual analysis it is now expedient to examine the way in which our own discipline has appropriated the body motif. Here I argue that we have come to the body, as somewhat of a latecomer, via developments in the social sciences and have not yet developed a significant corpus of theories applicable to our specific data. Instead, we have been too easily seduced by the body's overt aesthetic possibilities, the promise of new avenues to ancient sexualities and the straightforward power dynamics of a Foucauldian *body politic*.

There are several issues at stake within archaeological interpretations involving the body. One clear trend exists, primarily in the literature of British and European prehistory, of a predilection for the body as artifact (see Barrett 1994; Shanks & Tilley 1982; Thomas & Tilley 1990; Yates 1990). This social body is described in relationship to its landscape or spatially experiencing the phenomenon of monuments (see Barrett 1994, 15, 18, 23; Thomas 1995), without any corporeal, lived or individual identity. Each set of bodies consists of social players, normative representatives of larger social entities fulfilling their negotiated roles circumscribed by powerful social forces. These formulations obviously provide interesting insights and alternative perspectives on antiquity. Yet they bypass the individual in favor of a Body which is a passive reflector of large scale social processes—or what I term the society in microcosm model. The corporeal phenomenology of Merleau-Ponty challenges the notion of body as object. Only I can live my body; it is a phenomenon experienced by me and thus provides a perspectival point which places me in the world, enabling relations between me and other subjects and objects (Grosz 1994, 86; see Kus 1992).

The other trend, which is evidently more relevant in this context, is the body as the scene of display. This view is more prevalent in Mediterranean, Near Eastern and Egyptian contexts, which follows from the work of social constructionists like Michel Foucault—though this lineage is seldom acknowledged. This can be seen in recent general developments within Egyptian, Near Eastern, and Mediterranean archaeologies, where the adoption of engendered analyses has been construed as the identification of women, sexuality and feminization of specific groups. At this juncture it must be acknowledged that such interests are valid enterprises which provide a much needed injection of inter-disciplinary stimulus. In archaeology, the data employed are generally visually evocative, namely wall paintings, iconography, motifs, jewelry and ornamentation. In these examples, scholars are concerned with posture, gesture, costume, sexuality and representation in preference to the construction of individual identities, bodily experience or "lived bodies" in any corporeal sense. However, archaeology has at its disposal specific data to remedy such a situation, and coupled with insights gleaned from other fields which highlight the importance of experience, emotion, intentionality and the individual—it could offer significant dimensionality to the body dialogue.

Both trends could be seen as derivative of social constructionism that was once exceedingly popular and now heavily critiqued by sociologists, anthropologists and feminists alike. To map the historical landscape of the body and social constructionism in archaeology, we must acknowledge our substantive debt to Foucault.

### **Powerful Bodies**

Archaeology has been seduced by Foucauldian notions of control, where power relations are mapped on the body as a surface which can be analyzed as a forum for display. Despite the eager and enthusiastic adoption in archaeology of these ideas, replete with postmodern posturing and sanctioned by feminist practitioners, there is still the implicit adoption of binary, dichotomous and essentially Cartesian notions of rigid sex typing. It could be argued that the current preoccupation with control and elaboration is a typically androcentric, externalized separation of mind, body and emotions which forms an essentialist duality through its own mode of dis-

course and projects that perspective back into the past as if temporal and cultural stasis was tenable. The "on the body" discourse adopted by feminists and non-feminists alike still focuses attention on notions of *control over*—essentially the dominant male paradigm. All this mapping and elaborated treatment of the body may reflect the postmodern predilection for surface, but it still represents a separation from our bodies and our identities as individuals.

The result is that this upsurge in theorizing has prompted a new desire for groundedness, whereby we regard the body as a material, physical and biological phenomenon which is irreducible to immediate social processes or classifications. Bodies cannot simply be explained away (Shilling 1993, 10). In contrast to social constructionists like Foucault, it is important to recognize that the body is not merely constrained by or invested with social relations, but also forms a basis for and contributes towards these relations. Another criticism which feminists (see Braidotti 1991, 87; McNay 1992, 87) have vigorously leveled at Foucault is his *gender blindness* whereby the general human subject is assumed to be male. In general, Foucault does not consider Other voices, rather taking his departure from administrators, doctors, architects, penal reformers and male authorities in general. Hartstock takes this further by arguing that Foucault's world lacks people altogether—it is a world where the subject becomes obliterated or recreated into a passive object. In such a world passivity or refusal represent the only choices (Hartstock 1990, 167).

In the *History of Sexuality* (1978) Foucault is, not surprisingly, obsessed with power relations over the social body, although I would argue that he adopts a more moderate position than that expressed in *Discipline and Punish*. For Foucault the history of sexuality is analogous to the historical relationships of power and discourse on sex, which is ultimately a self-recursive process (1978, 90). However, he does not situate power as an institution, structure or a strength we are endowed with. Rather, it is the name given to a complex strategic situation in a particular society (1978, 93). Power is not an abstract that can be acquired or seized: it is exercised within a schema of asymmetrical relationships, which similarly include interactions of a social, economic, sexual or knowledge-based nature. He denies the binary power dynamic of ruler and



ruled, in favor of a more complex matrix in which each group actively reinforces their placement within the social body. However, he adheres to the notion of domination and resistance, though neither can adopt a position of exteriority. There is a plurality of resistance which is irregular and dispersed temporally and spatially, and which may even cut across social stratifications and individual unities (Foucault 1978, 96). Finally, he seeks to cast off the pre-occupation with rationality within such processes, since power relations can be both intentional and non-discursive or nonsubjective.

Archaeology has readily adopted these canons, although major adherents like Shanks and Tilley (1987a, 70-3; 1987b, 129-30) give primacy to a more narrow and rigid concept of hegemonic power, exploitation, domination and resistance etc. which presents a simplistic and formulaic binary equation that is in conflict with the original paradigm Foucault proposed. It is the former, rather than the latter, which has attracted and taken hold of a postmodern archaeology (see contributions by Gosden 1994; Miller & Tilley 1984; Miller, Rowlands & Tilley 1989; Shanks & Tilley 1987a, 1987b; Thomas 1989, 1990; Tilley 1990).

Archaeology has succumbed to discourses of power and pre-occupation with its strategies, which assume a labor-time intensive, constant and all consuming energy directed toward maintaining that position within a highly developed, well articulated system. This would seem another potent example of an overarching phallogocentric paradigm. Ever popular models of domination and resistance continue to posit issues of power and control as central. Somehow this sells short the life experiences of the individuals involved and its reductionist formula results in a self-fulfilling, oversimplified version of social dynamics. There is an inherent danger in dealing with issues such as class and gender inasmuch as the picture presented is one which highlights a model of the *oppressor* vs. the *oppressed*, which in itself is a form of temporal/cultural chauvinism that reinforces those relations—whether or not they existed in reality (Meskell 1996, 9).

### **Individual Bodies**

Within the burgeoning field of Body studies there has been a noticeable trend toward generalizing in terms of social groups, as

for example in the search for women's bodies or foreign bodies (see Lingis 1994). As previously discussed, this represents a universalizing tendency which falls short of the totality of human experience. It also privileges specific forms of difference in a canonical way: the enterprise is thus nomothetic, rather than idiographic. We cannot assume that sexed difference is the immediate structuring principle from which all others disseminate since all the major axes of difference, race, class, ethnicity, sexuality and religion, intersect with gender in ways which proffer a multiplicity of subject positions within any discourse (McNay 1992; Moore 1994, 57) which need to be examined contextually.

Historically, our formulations have tended to deal with classes or groups of peoples at the expense of the individual, though they are insightful at a general societal level upon which the individual is constituted. The category of the individual is similarly a social construction, though it cannot be mutually exclusive from society. Thus there is no pure constitution of the self, since it is always situated relationally. Archaeology has tended to ignore the relationship of the individual to society in favor of treating individuals simply as micro-versions of larger social entities. This is achieved by extrapolating from the supposedly representative sample of *society* to the assumption that subjects are the normative constituents that aggregate to make the whole. Western social science proceeds from the top downwards, from society to the individual, deriving individuals from social structures to which they belong: class, nationality, state, gender, religion, generation and so on (Cohen 1994, 6).

In postprocessual archaeology great emphasis has been placed on the individual and human intentionality—this is the case in theory, although in practice, most accompanying case studies still omit "real people" (Johnson 1989, 189-90). Such an emphasis undoubtedly reflects a very Western fascination with identity, self, and difference. At the close of the 20th century it is more that we experience *becoming* one's body. Anthony Giddens (1992) has referred to this more generally as "the project of the self," which is in itself a product of high modernity. Here the individual occupies center stage. However, accessing the individual in antiquity obviously presents archaeology with some major challenges given

that the concept itself is a loaded, historically situated term which is neither transhistorical nor transcultural (Shanks & Tilley 1987a, 62).

In attempting to locate the individual I am referring to two quite different projects. The first is what Johnson refers to as a practical concern with "specifically existing moments, present particularly in historical archaeology where one can identify "real people" and relate them to traces in the archaeological record" (1989, 190). The second project, and one that is more generally attainable in archaeology, is a search for the construction of identity or self. Selfhood varies cross-culturally and I do not claim that we can access specific self-conscious individuals or empathize in any cognitive way, since we are inherently tangled in a hermeneutic construction. However, my own preliminary investigations into the villagers of Deir el Medina (Meskell 1994, 1999), a site in New Kingdom Egypt, suggests that it is possible to see reflections of individual selves in all their variability. This view does not discount constituting factors of age, status, class, gender, ethnicity or marital status; yet, it does not prioritize these categories as opposed to individual or family choices. In this context, single burials of children, couples, family groups—often named individuals with written histories—may show how notions of identity or constructions of self were embodied. Individual selves were also presented to other members of the community during life (through individual houses, decoration and material culture) and to other individuals, family and members of the afterworld at death (by means of burials, tombs, chapels and monuments).

### **Egyptian Bodies**

For the purposes of this paper I will focus not only upon the bodies of children, but their embodiment as individuals at the point of death and transitionally into the afterlife. The concept of burial was central to Egyptian society. It was a personal aspiration which appears to have transcended social aggrandizement and display for many middle and lower class people. Marginal situations, the major experience being death, push at the borders of our bodily existence, they force us into the recognition that the world is unstable and open-ended and that the meanings we attribute to our bodies and

our world are based on nothing more solid than human activity. Death radically undermines and calls into question the cognitive and normative operating procedures of ordinary life. It threatens and accentuates the basic assumptions upon which society is organized, the dread of personal meaninglessness, especially when it touches the very young. It thus challenges the individual's sense of what is real and meaningful about their embodied selves and the world around them (Shilling 1993, 178-9).

The site of analysis is the Eastern Necropolis at Deir el Medina. This cemetery appeared to be segmented in zones along age-determined lines: the lowest part of the slope, known as Gournet Murai, was reserved for very young children. The excavator found not only infants, but still-born babies, fetuses, placentas and organic residues which defied identification amongst bloody cloths, the remains of viscera and the mummification process itself. He claims that this southern extremity of the village was riddled with small pits, circular, square or rectangular, cut 40 to 90 cm. deep into the rock without any internal or external masonry (Bruyère 1937, 11). Generally they were filled with sand, pebbles and a few large stones to finally cover these holes and prevent hyenas and jackals from disturbing the burials. Adolescents of both sexes were consigned to the middle section of the hill and adults to the upper portion, with women being more numerous than men. This last point is not surprising given the limited burial options for women.

Bruyère identified five types of inhumations for infants. The first was burial within pottery jars or amphorae, made in coarse fabrics, both decorated and undecorated. It does not appear that these vessels were created for such a purpose, as was the case with many of the chests and boxes discussed later. Given that the majority of vessels contain a fetus, still-born child or even a placenta wrapped in stained linen, the aforementioned grave goods cannot belong to the world of the child, but to a fully developed adult world and, as such, are symbolic of adult conceptions of the desirous afterlife. The fact that the placenta was buried and was known to represent the twin self and a powerful spiritual force (see Pinch 1994, 130), lends weight to the argument that these children were already perceived as embodied individuals—perhaps the physical body itself was all that was necessary to constitute a person

whether it survived birth or not. In most cases a sharp flint, probably used in the delivery operation, accompanies the burial (Bruyère 1937, 12).

The second mode of burial was in reused fish-baskets made of rushes, simply tied at the two ends. Usually, a torn, darned or imperfect piece of cloth enveloped a small body, most often a still-born baby. This type of interment was considered by the excavator to be the poorest and the least common (Bruyère 1937, 12-3). There is no evidence of amulets or jewelry, although occasionally these children were buried with several small vases containing bread, raisins, donuts and grains. These goods were part of the standard adult burial assemblage, rather than a specific constellation constituted around children. The third category, also of wicker-work, comprised round or oval baskets, at the bottom of which the child was covered with a shroud or rag. The body was placed in a number of positions, the most common being stretched out upon the back with the hands falling on the lower stomach. Often the child was too tall for the basket, so the basket had to be cut open leaving the shrouded feet exposed at one end. Here again, jewelry is omitted although vases of food for the afterlife were sometimes included.

Bruyère's fourth form of inhumation was that of boxes and chests, primarily of the re-used household variety. However, small children were also placed in roughly hewn wooden boxes that were designed specifically for the funerary context. One example merits particular attention, that of a young boy named *Iryky*. The family that lost this child suffered throughout his life and death—*Iryky* was so badly deformed that surviving beyond his first year must have been something of a miracle. His torso and head were abnormally large and the limbs stunted. He was not the only deformed child in the cemetery who had survived beyond birth, as there is another unnamed boy some 80 cm. tall in tomb 1373 who suffered from scoliosis. He was buried with jewelry, vases and plates full of bread, grain and donuts in an oval basket. However, *Iryky*'s family also went to considerable effort to bury him in a decorated chest, painted yellow with black borders with two large lateral bands containing hieratic script in black ink, including his name (Bruyère 1937, 14). The archaeology suggests that these two young boys were supported through life and cared for in death, which tells us some-

thing of their individual lives, that of their families and the society in which they were situated.

Coffins are the last of Bruyère's categories. These were used for small children and adolescents alike, some coarsely hewn from a tree trunk, others in anthropoid form. Whilst all construction techniques evidenced here were rough, some coffins have lime wash or yellow painted figures and inscriptions which were then varnished. In the case of the 3 children found in tomb 1372 one is prompted to ask why they were not interred with a family group, which would have been a common alternative. Perhaps, within this socio-economic group, the possibility of a family vault for communal burial was beyond pressing social or financial constraints, or their parents (or sets of parents) had not begun such a construction at the time of their death. However, this is not a poor burial *per se*, since, apart from two anthropoid coffins and one casket, there were six pieces of jewelry, 24 objects including ceramics (one a Cretan import), with food offerings and unguents. There is a simple box burial in the well known tomb of *Sennefer* (tomb 1159A), and considering his own opulent burial plus the rich decoration of this tomb, it would suggest he could have easily afforded a more elaborate burial for the child. This would suggest that *age*, rather than *class* or possibly even *gender*, was the mediating factor in methods of burial. From this perspective, purely materialistic explanations cannot account for the myriad symbolic factors which may have been operative in the burials of these individuals.

It would seem from the Deir el Medina data that burial assemblages were not generally designed specifically for the sphere of children as we might expect. The objects fall within the standard range of adult grave goods, if they are not a microcosmic version of it. An examination of 15 relatively intact tombs containing children from the Eastern Necropolis at Deir el Medina reveals that only two burials contain objects which could be interpreted as being specifically made for children during life. In tomb 1378 there is a cake in the shape of a male, which the excavator terms a "doll" and in tomb 1375, accompanying a small girl, is a broken figurine. The range of possible interpretations for the latter has been discussed at length by Pinch (1994). Both objects could be explained in terms of magic and ritual practice which operated at a highly individualistic,

rather than state, level (Kemp 1995, 26). The remaining assemblages, and indeed those of 1375 & 1378 as well, are remarkably congruous with the large number of adult burials from various sectors of the site.

Since we know that children were named at birth, it could be inferred that they were regarded as individuals with tangible trajectories in life and death. In fact, if the placenta was treated as a twin self, could it not be argued that *form* itself was the constituting factor in the formation of an individual, even if they did not attain personhood? Indeed, very young children were already considered embodied persons, and their untimely deaths warranted personal responses and care, even at a microcosmic scale, in the same manner as adults. However, whilst the emotional investment may have been analogous, often the financial outlay may have been less. Undoubtedly, some children were given much poorer burials or disposed of in ways which leave no archaeological trace—just as poorer adults must have been. Nonetheless, we cannot assume that burials excavated at Deir el Medina represent quick and meaningless "disposals" of bodies.

### **Embodied Bodies**

In the many mortuary studies carried out for the Egyptian context, and within archaeology as a discipline more generally, a significant component would appear to be missing. This fundamental aspect is comprised of intentionality, emotion and embodied experience. What archaeology has more recently focused is upon power strategies, negotiating social status and prestige display (Tarlow 1992), where individuals are reduced to passive social actors fulfilling prescribed roles (Meskell 1998). The concept that death is a deeply moving, personal experience and that grief has embodied yet individual responses, not necessarily driven by social aspirations, is seldom acknowledged. Our clinical, sanitized treatment of Egyptian death has recently been highlighted by Kus in her critique of the Ramesses II exhibition in America (Kus 1992, 170-1).

If anything is to stir the emotions or engender empathy for those of the long-dead New Kingdom, it should be the bodies of children and the care that seems to have been assigned to them as they embarked on their journey to the afterlife. I am not arguing for

a form of essentialism that binds "people" across spatio-temporal boundaries, as if the total experience of death was somehow commensurate. However, some measure of empathy, which lies beyond the rigid framework of social constructionism, must be considered. We cannot dismiss the corporeal nature of the bodily experience since aspects of bodily existence lie outside the range of social construction, whether it be living, dying, sleeping, eating or experiencing pleasure, pain or violence. Thus the discourse of constructionism, whether it be power, prestige or social aggrandizement, cannot be entirely adequate to the task at hand. Not only does such a position undermine agency and the individual, it undermines human intentionality as well as the emotive and experiential dimension.

To conclude, I suggest that our way out of the current dilemma may be significantly impeded if emphasis is placed upon the body in an uncritical, untheorized milieu, at the expense of a more rounded, holistic notion of individuality. If we attempt to tap into these unique structures, a historic milieu with multi-leveled data would prove most conducive, as in the case study illustrated above. An embodied body represents, and is, a lived experience where the interplay of irreducible natural, social, cultural and psychical phenomena are brought to fruition through each individual's resolution of external structures, embodied experience and choice. It represents the particular site of interface between several different irreducible domains: the biological and the social, the collective and the individual, structure and agent, cause and meaning, constraint and free will (Berthelot 1991, 395-8). There are inherent problems with the uncritical adoption of extreme forms of social constructionism, which privileges impersonal forces such as culture or discourse or power; and where these terms occupy the grammatical site of the subject after the "human" has been dislodged from its place. In sum, most constructionist positions are essentially deterministic and simply displace human agency (Butler 1993, 9). Perhaps it would also prove expedient to review, if not dispense with, these constructed categories which serve to universalize the generalities of human experience, rather than (re)construct or (re)place individual persons.



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## BOOK REVIEWS

FOURNET, JEAN-LUC. *Hellénisme dans l'Égypte du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle: La bibliothèque et l'oeuvre de Dioscore d'Aphrodité*. Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1999. 2 volumes (iii + 458 pages; pages 459-735 + 77 plates). *Memoires de l'IFAO* 115/1-2. ISBN 2-7247-0237-9.

And bring again the lost Hellenic Muse  
To sing from heaven... (Robert Bridges)

"Hellenism is a cultural creed."<sup>1</sup> By giving his magnum opus (and it is, two heavy volumes each 36 cm high: this is unfortunately not a work one can easily carry around) the title it bears, F(ournet) happily proclaims what the present reviewer has for thirty-four years: that Dioscorus is a subject for classical studies. In 1947 C. Bradford Welles (later my teacher) stated that "Dioscorus does not always make sense to us moderns."<sup>2</sup> Now he can do so. In this magnificent and opulently produced work Dioscorus takes the stage as "an excellent paradigm of the Hellenized élites who peopled the eastern empire and to whom late antique society owed the greater part of its cultural activity."<sup>3</sup>

That fifty-three-year-old judgment illustrates how far late antique studies have come.<sup>4</sup> In the 1980's the present reviewer re-

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<sup>1</sup> F. Zimmermann, "The origins of the so-called *Theology of Aristotle*," in *Pseudo-Aristotle in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Kraye, et al. (London 1986) 135.

<sup>2</sup> Taken as a chapter epigraph in the present reviewer's monograph *Dioscorus of Aphrodité: His Work and his World* (Berkeley 1988) 1.

<sup>3</sup> J.-L. Fournet, review of L.S.B. MacCoull, *Coptic Perspectives on Late Antiquity* (Aldershot 1993), *L'Antiquité Tardive* 5 (1977) 368.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the introductions to *The Limits of Ancient Christianity: Essays in Late Antique Thought and Culture in Honor of R.A. Markus*, ed. W. Klingshirn and M. Vessey (Ann Arbor 1999) and *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown*, ed. J. Howard-Johnston and P.A. Hayward (Oxford 1999).

heard decades of condemnation of Dioscorus and his work;<sup>5</sup> F. does as well (i.1), but what a marvelous difference. We are all shaped by our formation experiences. Not permitted as a Vassar undergraduate to work on a subject that was "too late," I well remember being a twenty-year-old beginning Yale graduate student in the old Winchester Hall papyrology workroom on the day in February 1966 when someone borrowing Rouillard's *Administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine* remarked "After all, nobody does Byzantine." Epiphany! (Not to mention the fact that anything people expended so much energy on condemning had to be interesting.) By 1989 there was a Byzantine papyrology session at the Byzantine Studies Conference. F. is fortunate to come along at a stage when this subject is no longer prohibited or even outlandish, but is calmly taken up and worked on by the brightest younger people as a natural thing, not having to be fought for.<sup>6</sup> To it he brings a combination of thoroughness and mastery which those of us who put our shoulders to the paradigm and pushed it until it shifted can only applaud.

*Hellénisme/Dioscore*, though it does not include texts and commentaries of all the prose works to correspond to those of the poetic works, nonetheless treats Dioscorus' oeuvre as a unity, "le cas Dioscore," the cultural production of an individual who experienced the education, owned the library, wrote the compositions, and performed the private and public activities of a person of his society and time. And in his brilliantly accurate concept "poésie 'documentaire'" (i.317-43) F. epigrammatizes this unity, as Welles taught all his students that the Mediterranean world was one world. In Ludwig Koenen's phrase, papyrology is now becoming the papyrology of the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Eastern Mediterranean: one would add the papyrology of more than one language and more than one set of genres.

F.'s "Avant-Propos" (i.1-5) demonstrates in the clearest of terms how far we have come from the days when the present reviewer had to plead, not that Dioscorus was an Eliot, but that he was an interesting exemplar of his times. Both poems and documents from his

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<sup>5</sup> MacCough, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) xv-xvi.

<sup>6</sup> See the Introduction to *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*, ed. G. Bowersock, et al. (Cambridge, Mass., 1999).

hand "speak of their present" and form part of one and the same oeuvre. Today's interdisciplinary approach has tried to overcome the departmental and educational barriers that led to the physical segregation of Greek papyri (that could be read by the classically-trained) from the Coptic ones by the same hand (the latter being the province of Orientalists or seminarians; not to mention the use of the two languages on opposite sides of the same sheet!), the Coptic being put away in a closet from which they later had to be rescued.<sup>7</sup> And the oeuvre itself is understandable only as situated in the context of "proto-Byzantine Hellenism," to grasp which F. begins with a look at what books Dioscorus owned, read, and annotated: the "interactive" relations between a writer's library and his output, between his inheritance and his legacy. This means engaging first of all with the curriculum base, Homer, "the best poet."

If you participated in the *paideia* of the late Roman Empire, in the classics and the education imparting them,<sup>8</sup> you could potentially do anything, including hold high office in the capital or in your own *patria*. Dioscorus' prize possession and the key to this *paideia*, what seems to have been a two-volume set of the *Iliad* copied probably shortly before his own lifetime (and then successively pointed again, with corrections), is given an exhaustive codicological study (i.9-16). F. notes, and makes plain the function of, every mark of ink and every linguistic form (especially differences and overlaps between "documentary" and "literary" usages). Work of this thoroughness, connected with every known philological parallel, gives us a total knowledge of what "Greek" was in Dioscorus' time,<sup>9</sup> again especially how literary and documentary practices overlapped and counter-influenced each other. Dioscorus' *Iliad* was a book copied for study and use, not a bookshop copy in "best book-

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<sup>7</sup> Debate on the legitimacy of using the terms "Copt/Coptic" applied to people and things prior to the Islamic conquest continues. The most balanced discussion is by T. Thomas, "Copts," *ibid.*, 395-6. I have had to emphasize the "Coptic" aspect of Dioscorus' culture because of this gap.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. P.R.L. Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity* (Madison 1992) 35-70, esp. 39-45, cf. 150-4; R. Kaster, "Education," in *op.cit.* (above, n. 6) 421-3; R. Lim, *Public Disputation, Power, and Social Order in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 1995) 138-40, 164-5.

<sup>9</sup> See G. Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers* (London-New York 1997) 159-61.

hand." F. gives a diplomatic transcription with facing-page reading text, followed by a full commentary (i.46-85). Dioscorus also owned and used an heirloom codex of the Scholia Minora on the *Iliad*, probably copied at the turn of the fourth to fifth century. It too was repeatedly corrected up to Dioscorus' time, though not, it seems, by him. F. subjects this multilayered text, with its own uniquenesses, to the same thorough treatment, shedding abundant light on Dioscorus' mental furniture (i.87-173). And with the conjugation tables (i.175-237)<sup>10</sup> we really come to grips with what "the classical education" was like in the sixth century in Egypt. In them we see Dioscorus not as a pupil but, it seems, as a teacher, passing on the basic matter of Hellenism to a new generation (see ii.689-90) within the environment of the family of whose status he was proud (poem 14.15).

From the input we turn to Dioscorus' (literary) output. What has come down to us is for the most part drafts on the blank sides of reused papyrus sheets, not the fair copies Dioscorus would presumably have presented to his *laudandi* (i.241). F. begins with the bright idea of scrutinizing the used sides to determine how the poet actually reused a sheet of "scrap-paper" material. Sometimes he simply turned a sheet over; sometimes he cut down a used sheet to size (including the times when he wrote on the side of a cut-off protocol); occasionally, we find a palimpsest; and there are a few cases in which he simply wrote on blank piece of roll: these last may actually be fair copies (i.242). His favored *modus operandi* was to write across the fibers. F. sees two reasons for this: first, the influence of Byzantine documentary practice, and second, the handy fact that the 30 cm standard height of a local roll was just the right width for a hexameter line written in book-hand and leaving a margin for *addenda* and *corrigenda* (i.244). As for the → texts on unused papyrus, two of them are acrostics carefully arranged to display both the initial letters and the symmetrical text blocks of iambic prologue and hexameter: for these Dioscorus wrote along the fibers in two columns side by side, in what seems to have been felt as a more "literary" manner, seeking to impress the recipient with the "prestige of archaism" (*ibid.*). The other → texts on unused pa-

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<sup>10</sup> Dr Sarah Clackson informs me that she has now found more of this material in both Cambridge and Berlin.



pyrus are single-column, but they, like the Romanos acrostic (poem 4), are now dated to the beginning of Dioscorus' poetic career, stimulated by his trips to Constantinople in 548/9 and 551 and addressed to high officials in the capital. The poet was taking special pains with his "verse petitions"—written along the fibers just like ordinary prose petitions, which they sometimes accompanied—with which he needed to impress the exalted recipients (i.245). And we see him treating sheets cut from a roll in just the way one would treat pages in a codex—implying that familiarity with the codex form for multiple uses was deeply ingrained in sixth-century brains and influenced the way other forms were handled for special purposes. By these observations from careful examination, F. has provided deep insight into the actual production of "Byzantine literature" as it is treated by *belles-lettres* specialists.

Next, F. points out that we still do not have a complete palaeographical study of Dioscorus' hand(s)/writing style(s), and seeks to discern patterns of relationship between writing type and text genre. He offers important remarks (i.245, n. 14) on the commonality of form between Coptic documentary writing and Greek literary writing as we see them coexisting in sixth-century Egypt, the Coptic of course forming itself after the Greek and not yet having evolved a cursive style. In particular, he shows in his customarily thorough fashion that Bell's dichotomy of "Hand A" (Greek literary uncial/Coptic documentary) and "Hand B" (Greek documentary cursive) is much too hard-and-fast ("manichéenne"), and needs to be much more nuanced. F. brings out the manifold graphic variations that come from a human hand connected to a single human brain in different states, and the fact that "A" and "B" often approach each other and even overlap in near-commonalities. As is obvious when you look, we can now discern a more sloping "A1" (i.247) and a more upright, "documentary-looking" "A2" (i.248), employed simultaneously (this is not aging or an evolution over time). A1 seems to have been more consciously poetic and literary, for a text to take trouble over; A2 can be a manifestation of writer's fatigue toward the end of a long text, or can be used for text of less "poetic" character such as the prose introduction to a poem. We even see an iambic prologue in A2 and its hexameter body in the "fancier" A1. (However, the reverse is also found.) Fair copies are in A1.

As already stated, F. overlooks no ink mark, however small, that Dioscorus ever put on papyrus. The poet's marginal signs (i.249-51) are shown to help format his text, indicating beginnings and ends, setting off titles, marking where to move a word or a line. Dioscorus took over the opening apotropaic sign of the cross from documentary practice, as he did the  $\chi\mu\gamma$  with which two poems are headed. According to F., this indicates that "the poem is treated like a document" (i.249). Fair copies of two-part verse *encomia*, as opposed to papyrus-saving drafts, have their end signaled (as a general schema) by a *coronis* and their two parts separated by a *paragraphos*. *Paragraphoi* can also mark off various sections, according to sense or structure, of a poem; strokes or L-shapes can separate metrical units (Dioscorus tends to think in single lines, hardly ever using enjambment [cf. i.269, 310]). The poet also numbers lines to indicate an intention of reshuffling the order. All these let us watch him at work.

F. provides a complete treatment of the diacritical signs visible in these texts (*apostrophe*, *diastole*, *trema*, superlineation, *macron*, accents, breathings, punctuation marks, iota adscript) and of the abbreviations carried over by this professional documentarian into his other area of production (i.252-7). Writing surface, physical format, written text are all an interrelated unity. Again almost as with a time machine (cf. i.291, "looking at the author over his shoulder") we can look at Byzantine texts as they were being composed and set down, not as they have been mediated by lengthy stages of transmission. Levels and genres intermingle as markings from one are applied to another. Documentary and literary practices interact. The student of Homer employed "two facets of the same activity: writing" (i.258), as the content of his writing makes plain.

F.'s next long section treats Dioscorus the poet. First, the genres he worked in and the models he followed: occasional poems including petitions and petitionary *encomia*, *adventus* praise poems, birthday poems, *epithalamia*, poems of thanks, an epistle, salutations, and what F. terms an *odaron* (the anacreontic); *progymnasmata* including *ethopoiiai*, narrative, and a hymn to a saint (i.258-77). Then meter is considered, especially its relation to genre and to the rank of the addressee, and the role of the iambic prologue in doubling a poem's content (i.278-86). Throughout F. brings out the

characteristic way late antique society put its trust in rhetoric (poetry influencing rhetoric, rhetoric influencing poetry), the inherited *paedeia*, while in effect the political became the personal, the public became the private. Dioscorus' local tradition influenced both form and content, and he saw great events and figures through the lens of how they affected his own life. What you learned at school about epic and compositional technique and rhetorical exercise was not dry and irrelevant: you could write a document in verse that spoke from and to the truths of your own immediate situation.<sup>11</sup> Dioscorus emerges here as the Mediterranean creator of the "verse petition,"<sup>12</sup> a form not unknown in Far Eastern cultures.

Next we observe the poet while composing. He varies, he corrects, he adds: in what way? F.'s subtle analysis unpacks the problems. In his view Dioscorus intended his marginal or interlinear additions to be improvements to replace what had been first put down (i.229), not as other just-as-good options to be kept or discarded at a later stage. Corrected lines get inserted above what they were to replace; supplementary lines can get added below what they amplify. To correct, the poet rarely struck out or erased, preferring to write marginal or supralinear additions in as he went along—once even correcting the more cursive form of a letter with the more "literary" uncial form (cf. above). Added lines, such as those covering required encomiastic topics that had been inadvertently left out, get written perpendicularly in the margin. As F. says, "he does not only correct his Greek: he improves the meter and polishes his expression" (i.294),<sup>13</sup> gratifying a taste for work in progress.

Our *doctus poeta* brought a well-stocked mind to his works: his favorite writers to cite being Homer, Nonnus,<sup>14</sup> and the Hexameter

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<sup>11</sup> This is why twelve years ago I quoted Rilke in *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) xvii.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. J. George, "Venantius Fortunatus: Panegyric in Merovingian Gaul," in *The Propaganda of Power: The Role of Panegyric in Late Antiquity*, ed. M. Whitby (Leiden 1998) 225-46, especially 228 on how praise "... functioned as a medium for communication and negotiation between rulers and people."

<sup>13</sup> Cf. B. Cerquiglini, *In Praise of the Variant*, trans. B. Wing (Baltimore 1999) 7, 21-45.

<sup>14</sup> F. does not question the attribution of the *Paraphrasis of John* to Nonnus. See D. Gigli Piccardi, "Nonno e l'Egitto," *Prometheus* 24 (1998) 61-82, 161-81.

Psalter author (the latter two not surviving in his personal library; i.229). He often uses borrowed hexameter phrases in their traditional slots in the line, but also transposes them to different slots; he changes the morphology to fit his own idea, interweaves citations, plays with echoes, adapts, permutes and commutes. Dioscorus' practice of stealing from himself—"recycling" words, phrases, lines, passages from one work to another—was formerly, while the romantic-genius model held sway, held against him as lack of originality, failure of imagination (cf. i.305). Now, in the age of postmodernism, "autocitation" (i.303-11) is cool. Dioscorus' almost formulaic way of using the modular, stand-alone single line was a great technical aid in this recycling process, as was the consistency of encomiastic *topoi*. He could also reuse material prompted by the same circumstances, the same rank or even same name of the recipient, or by closeness in the time of composition. F. has had the brilliant insight of comparing these repeated praises to the formulaic acclamations of Byzantine public life (cf. poem 17.20-5 and ii.568), "founded on almost incantatory repetition" (i.305).<sup>15</sup> Dioscorus also modified his own material, reworking it for new meanings, new contexts, later times, remixing sub-elements to create new patterns of cross-fertilized association (i.305-10). He combined school learning with contemporary rhetoric, not to create a self-published "final edition" but to produce an object that would be consumed with pleasure by its recipient.

Next F. raises one of his most provocative ideas: that Dioscorus "translated" a preliminary prose sketch into verse (i.312-4), rather like one method of traditional verse-composition pedagogy in the old classical education. Such a procedure, he maintains, led to the form he terms "*encomia* of petition" or "praise-petitions in verse,"<sup>16</sup> poems composed after the dedicated prose works they were made to accompany. Dioscorus could take a prose model, substitute metrically workable and higher-style terms for those in prose usage (especially words for everyday things like job titles, institutions, forms

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<sup>15</sup> Cf. Brown, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) 150.

<sup>16</sup> For a different take on this, see C. Kuehn, *Channels of Imperishable Fire: The Beginnings of Christian Mystical Poetry and Dioscorus of Aphroditto* (New York 1995) 2-4. I will be engaging with Kuehn's work on Dioscorus often below, for purposes of comparison.

of address in Byzantine officialdom, and other technical realia [i.313]—not to mention opening up his discourse to other registers by simply taking over such words from the "real world"—, slot them into iambic and/or hexameter lines, *et voilà*. This is going to give much food for thought to Byzantinists occupied with the notion of "classizing writers" in the age of Justinian and after. The technique of enclosing a graceful verse petition with his practical prose one got Dioscorus' message more efficaciously across to a Byzantine official who shared his *paideia* and his culture.<sup>17</sup>

F. is a bit unjust, it seems to the present reviewer, in opening his final section called "Une poésie 'documentaire' " (i.317-42) by stating that historians have under-exploited the mine of information contained in Dioscorus' poetic production (i.317). I have tried to do so for thirty years; now, thanks to F.'s unparalleled labors, a new generation of "late antique people" can go at it. We learn a great deal about the poet and the "administrative élites of his time and their values," true:<sup>18</sup> and about their values, also, in the world of religious change and "confessionalization"<sup>19</sup> that was the sixth-century Mediterranean. F. has certainly provided what is needed for a thorough re-evaluation of this singular life-and-work complex.<sup>20</sup>

Dioscorus does not keep himself impersonally in the background as he focuses on his *laudandus* or other topic: even while employing *topoi* of modesty, he puts himself and his own story in the foreground. F. makes that story much clearer by showing how two "life crises" stimulated the production of Dioscorus' two principal groups of poems. First, there was the "Theodosius affair," the

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<sup>17</sup> Cf. George, *op.cit.* (above, n. 12) 245: "... no token nod to a prestigious but inert relic of Roman culture, but a sophisticated, relevant and effective form of political and social interaction."

<sup>18</sup> See also J. Gascou, "Ducs, *praesides*, poètes et rhéteurs au Bas-Empire," *L'Antiquité Tardive* 6 (1998) 61-4, esp. 63-4.

<sup>19</sup> On this concept, a powerful tool itself under-utilized by workers on late antiquity and one of great utility in understanding what was happening in sixth-century Egypt and Syria, I have learned a great deal from J.W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. George, *op.cit.* (above, n. 12) 244: "The very number and variety of [his] panegyrics show how valuable a tool this genre was to a poet with a sound rhetorical training and an active engagement with the turbulent politics of [here Byzantine Egypt]." (adapted)

tax debacle after Apollos' death that forced Dioscorus to go twice to Constantinople seeking help. (Possibly the whole problem was a consequence of the early 540's plague, not mentioned by F.). Thus, we have a first phase of our poet's writing career, centering around his travels up through 551 and his encounters with, and addresses to, Byzantine imperial officials (i.318-21). (Dioscorus traveled from the Egypt that was a nest of "wandering poets" to a Constantinople where people like Agathias and Paul the Silentiary were practicing the craft [cf. ii.678].) Then, nearly fifteen years later, there was the "Menas affair" and Dioscorus' move to Antinoopolis at the end of Justinian's reign and the beginning of Justin II's. When another violence-prone local official tried to interfere at Aphrodito, perhaps counting on a weakening imperial power at the time of transition, our author relocated to the provincial capital. He thereby became closer to the administrations of at least three *duces* of the Thebaid: Athanasius, Callinicus, and John, members of highly-placed and interrelated local families.<sup>21</sup> In his poems of this second phase Dioscorus treated the same topics as in the documents he wrote: the troubles, his encounters with officials, and the cultural concerns of the élite and their dependents (i.321-4). F. sees this "crisis-based" poetic production not as (nineteenth-century-style) "Art" but as a practical, dedicated, and prestige-packed way to get a message across, in true late-antique fashion (i.325).<sup>22</sup> Dioscorus' poetry was, for F., made only out of adversity; in uninteresting times he did not compose. (Yet, there is another dimension to his work, seen in the *progymnasmata*: an educative one [i.325-6], passing on the Hellenic *Kulturgut* to the next generation, as he did with the Greek paradigms: this too shows confidence, even amid the adversity.)

F. next explores the poem's addressees, revealing a huge web of interrelated leading families in Egypt that dominated the provincial officialdom also in familiar late-antique fashion (i.326-43). He

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<sup>21</sup> See J.-L. Fournet, "Un nouveau épithalame de Dioscore d'Aphrodité adressé à un gouverneur civil de Thébaïde," *L'Antiquité Tardive* 6 (1998) 65-82, esp. 70-1.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. again Brown, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) 122: "... the exquisite condensation of hard-won skills of social living ... the one, reliable code that governed the behavior of the powerful," 131-2; and Lim, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) 150-6, 180-1; also *id.*, "Christian Triumph and Controversy," in *Late Antiquity* (above, n. 6) 196-218, esp. 202-3.

succeeds in creating a plausible chronology of the principal office-holders, where others including myself have failed. And finally, following some much-stressed present concerns in the study of the period, he views the works as "bearers of the vision that a subject of the sixth century had of those in authority over him and of the dominant values of society ... the literary rendering of a sensibility, an ensemble of values shared by the community" (i.337). (Again documents are read as rhetoric, rhetoric as document.) What, he asks, was power in sixth-century Egypt, to its wielders and to those who felt its force?<sup>23</sup> We know that while the *dux* of a province was the highest judge, as seen in legal documents, in the poems he is given the image of a classical warrior. This division reflects the two sides of power and competence that were united in the office. And yet the warrior is shown performing civil functions, "saving" cities and rendering justice. He is almost a clone of the emperor, as well as having an "aspect christique." In other ranks of officialdom F. singles out two themes: élite practice of literature, a characteristic of the period's stress on *paideia* and a *sine qua non* (almost) of high office-holding; and Christian benefaction (this topic finally appears, late in F.'s presentation!), another necessary part of the ideal image.<sup>24</sup> I would add that in the second theme there is another form of power at work as well: supernatural power. The *laudandi* have unseen but potent figures at their shoulders, their eponymous patron saints or other Christian theophoric concepts: Colluthus helps just like Antinoopolis' patron saint, the healer of the same name; Victor takes the side of the poor like his saintly namesake (also with Antinoite connections) who despised earthly riches; Dorotheos gives like God; Constantine re-enacts the first Christian emperor's generosity; Theodore also gives divinely to the needy; and John manifests the

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<sup>23</sup> Cf. George, *op.cit.* (above, n. 12) 226: "...a poet, rooted by his education and early training in the mainstream classical tradition, working in the context of a markedly changing culture to develop and adapt the traditions of the past to fulfil what had always been the basic role of the panegyrist, that of a political commentator and mediator." Both Dioscorus and Fortunatus were asking the power question in their times.

<sup>24</sup> Compare the interaction of poetry and land-related documents in Dioscorus' oeuvre to the activity of the élite landowner and Christian poet Paulinus of Nola: D.E. Trout, *Paulinus of Nola* (Berkeley 1999) 58-9, 134, 173, 184-5.

mercy of God to his neighbors. Athanasius "has received justice from God" like his namesake the great patriarch; and Callinicus is a "patron of patrons" like his wonderworking namesake, another martyr connected with Antinoopolis, while both he and John help the life-giving Nile to flow.<sup>25</sup> This dimension to its cast of characters was also a value prized by late antique society and its institutions.

The Greek written by this bilingual author is of course also characteristic of his time and place, and F. gives an exhaustive inventory of particulars: phonology, morphology, syntax, vocabulary (i.343-67). It is interesting to see the re-influence on Greek of Coptic forms themselves borrowed from Greek and reconfigured (e.g. i.343). The poet also alters forms in specific ways to get them to fit his meter, giving us more data for the study of Byzantine versification. (Did anyone ever try composing "classical" verse in Coptic, as was tried in other Eastern Christian languages? Or was that seen as just too great an incongruity between domains or levels of discourse? F. thinks it impossible.<sup>26</sup>)

At last we come to the heart of the whole: texts and French translations of (i.369-458), and commentaries on (ii.459-665), the fifty-one surviving Dioscorian poems F. has identified and now re-numbered (his numbering will now be standard, replacing that of Heitsch) and arranged in order both chronological and by category (occasional and progymnasmatic works; see table i.371-2). F. has made every text anew and autoptically from the papyri themselves, *the* necessary task (for which the present reviewer was unable to surmount the political, logistic, and gender obstacles even with the backing of the Société d'Archéologie Copte and Mirrit Boutros Ghali Bey), and has even found one of the missing Aphrodito boxes, a

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<sup>25</sup> This is one area where I think Kuehn, *op.cit.* (above, n. 16) is on the right track (here esp. 182-5, 216-23). Though in his book Kuehn is fanciful in seeing the Dionysian union-experience everywhere, and sometimes seems to use "mystical" as a fuzzy synonym for "serious Christian," he is quite right to bring out the undercurrent of Christian meaning. Are the occasional poems addressed to real people? Yes, of course. Do they also pick up on the Christian meanings of those people's identities, as such meanings would have been discerned almost by reflex in sixth-century culture? Yes, of course they do. (But was Dioscorus some sort of iconoclast *avant la lettre*? No, of course not.)

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Fournet's review of *Coptic Perspectives* (above, n. 3) 368.



prize I sought for twenty years (i.455). The editor pays attention to and reproduces where phrases and lines were originally placed on the support and how they were marked up by their composer, a method which, together with the excellent plates at the end of the second volume, gives the reader of each poem a feeling of what it is really like to read an original from late antiquity. I shall not be able to highlight more than selections of the fascinating new insights F. provides on every page.

Poems 1-9, dated to 551 (except for 3, from summer 567), are fruits of Dioscorus' second trip to Constantinople (after that of 548/49) and his interactions with the capital's people and culture. As explained above, they are versified petitions/praise-petitions, addressed to such high officials as a *silentarius*, an *exceptor*, and two *cancellarii*, possibly even the city prefect (poem 1), and perhaps the *quaestor sacri palatii* or a *magister a libellis*. We see Dioscorus making in verse the same explicit requests for help against violence and loss that he makes in prose. F.'s spot-on reading of θυελλῆς (= θυηλῆς), "sacrifice," in 3.1 is very important for sixth-century eucharistic doctrine and practice: the *dux* of the Thebaid is being approached (in a state of grace) by a petitioner just after he (the *dux*) has assisted at/received the eucharist, as he leaves church; the celebration included both the liturgy of the word and the presence of God himself the παμβασιλεύς. Also in 3 we notice that the pagarch's depositing money in Shenoute's monastery and that of "Sabouerios" (I suggest one named for St. Sapor, the Persian martyr bishop) is complained of as being a depredation. In the famous Romanos poem (4), shown conclusively to be addressed to an official rather than to the hymnographer, we may note the subtle play among Πῶμη ("strength"/[rather I think] "the old Rome") and ἡ πόλις σωφροσύνης, the New Rome (lines 8-9), all punning on the *laudandus*' name as is Dioscorus' wont. (And in this poem too we find the liturgical diptychs read out during the eucharist [line 18]). In line 24 the *topos* of the poet's incapacity is also used by Coptic hymn writers to describe their bemusement when faced with the hero's virtues. In poem 5 and elsewhere, the remarks of Kuehn, *op.cit.* (above, n. 16) 225-7 remind us of the additional Christian dimension of the "extended hand" image, especially in visual art. And the μονοειδής of 5.8 and elsewhere may indeed, if addressed to a presumably Chalcedonian *laudandus*, be simply a synonym for ὁμοούσιος. In poem 7 we first meet the Christian cicada image, on which Kuehn, *ibid.*, 167-82 also has useful (if occasionally far-fetched) things to say. While F. reinterprets the φιλομετρία of 8.4 as "love of the humble" rather than "love of poetry," he acknowledges that the eloquent Paul of 9.6 also recalls his namesake Paul the "model of the Christian rhetor."

We now advance to the beginning of the reign of Justin II. Not in the capital asking for help, this time Dioscorus the "poet of crisis" is in Antinoopolis asking for help. Under 10, to *dux* Athanasius, F. unites two previously separate poems into a whole consisting of iambic prologue and hexameter body. To his comments (e.g. that we are not to believe in actual Blemmy raids in the late 560's, only rapacious βοηθοί as in 11.82) I would add only that the two epithets of Εἰρήνη,

θεόπνευστος (line 4) and θεοίκελος (line 25, cf. 18.56), are usually associated with the Christian scriptures in the first case and the human soul in the second, and they are distinguished by the appropriate verbs ῥέει and ἦνθεε respectively. These images coupled with that of the good flood in lines 14-15 are reminiscent of John Philoponus' exegetical concerns in his slightly earlier hexameral work *De opificio mundi* (though I no longer champion the hypothesis that Dioscorus might have studied with him). Then comes poem 11, to *dux* John, a long verse petition that tells a story and forms a companion piece to *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002. I would add that the "divine dew" of the Muse (line 27) can also refer to the fiery dew of the Holy Spirit (as John also has the gift of Trinitarian faith); and that the bothersome goose (line 72) is also an ironic reference to the name of Dioscorus' ancestor Psimanobet ("man from the place of geese"); this greedy, nouveau-riche goose has been despoiling the "place of geese" that the *dux* is to govern with valor and justice, steering the eparchy's ship like Noah's saving Ark (I agree here). It is hard, though, to believe that John's father would have been the "illustrious Sarammon" of the Aphrodito murder mystery! We may note also F.'s subtle perception of the evolution in the meaning of κῶδιξ (line 62) from a descriptive cadaster to a reference book listing tax assessments. He brings out well the first-then-second-ending structure as deliberately reflecting the poet's strong emotions (though we are no longer to believe that the first-person plaint is being spoken by Egypt; it is Dioscorus speaking for himself throughout the poem).

Victor the envy-proof *hegemon* and *domesticus* of poem 12 (a freestanding iambic piece) seems to have been of the same family of officials as Callinicus the *dux*, Colluthus the pagarch, and Dorotheos the *comes/magister*.<sup>27</sup> His "qualités de bon chrétien" (ii.550) of despising earthly wealth to care for the poor (lines 14-16) recall those of his eponym St. Victor (cf. above), as do those of the learned pagarch Phoibammon, *laudandus* of poem 13 and also a relative, who rejected debauchery as did St. Phoibammon who was martyred near Antaiopolis. (Though F. regards the ἱλαρόν of 13.21 as just a synonym for ἱλαος [13.20], can it not also be a subtle variant echoing the hymn Φῶς ἱλαρόν, perhaps part of the "fête" discerned within the expression ἀμφαγαπάζη, a eucharistic feast followed by vespers?) Concerning the *comes*, pagarch and councilor<sup>28</sup> Colluthus of poem 14 (which again unites an iambic prologue and a hexameter body), member of the same family whose philanthropy recalls that of his patron-saintly namesake (line 11), who left his aristocratic Antinoite family to practice medicine without fee, we may also ask if his epithet "eagle" (line 25; ii.561; cf. 32 B 3) refers to a connection with the Pachomian congregation (in its time of confessional troubles). And not only can Dioscorus himself pray for the *laudandus* (ii.560), the Apa Apollos congregation could too. Are Colluthus and Mark the same pair as in *P.Vat.Copti Doresse* 5.2-3?<sup>29</sup> And to 15.3 (on Dorotheos) compare 20.24 (on John).

<sup>27</sup> Fournet, *op.cit.* (above, n. 21) 68-71.

<sup>28</sup> See now K.A. Worp, "Bouleutai and Politeuomenoi in Later Byzantine Egypt Again," *CdE* 74 (1999) 124-32 (mentioning Dioscorus' term πρῶτανις).

<sup>29</sup> L.S.B. MacCoull in *BSAC* 25 (1983) 93.

The four *adventus* poems (17-20) come next. F. gives a thorough re-reading of the *adventus* encomium for Emperor Justin's portrait, reminding us of how beneath the combination of *basilikos logos*, *epibaterios logos*, and echoes of acclamations it preserves traces of a rigidly fixed ceremonial that was actually enacted. On οὐ κατὰ κόσμον (line 10; ii.570-571) compare Kuehn, *op.cit.* (above, n. 16) 194-5, the whole expression being also an echo of Psalm 95:13. F. has surely correctly heard a covert allusion to the Monophysite patriarch Theodosius in line 12 (ii.572)! This is a first clue to where Dioscorus actually stood: we cannot overlook the fact that some time in his childhood, most probably sometime in the 530's, a momentous thing happened, the first deliberate ordination of an Egyptian bishop who did not accept Chalcedon, either in belief or in idea of precedence. And Justin II had been born a Monophysite; he switched only later. Kuehn, *ibid.*, 216-23 brings out the parallels between the *dux* Callinicus of poem 18 and the "beautiful victory" in martyrdom of his name saint who died at Antinoopolis. To the opening phrase J. Schamp (*per litt.*) has compared the Neoplatonic fragment 30 of Damascius. In this poem we first encounter the comparison of the *laudandus* with Bellerophon (line 48); and to F.'s comments (*op.cit.* [above, n. 21] 77-8) I should like to add the following: the Christianized Bellerophon in praise contexts is of course not the sad figure of Ausonius and Paulinus of Nola,<sup>30</sup> but the hero of *σωφοσύνη*<sup>31</sup> (as used in the *epithalamia*) who prefigures Joseph, the symbol of chastity in Egypt.<sup>32</sup> Finally poem 19, an iambic prologue, precedes the hexameter poem 20 on *dux* John, to which it may or may not belong. Kuehn's comparison of the saved Thebes (20.24-25) to the heavenly Jerusalem (*op.cit.* [above, n. 16] 201, cf. 225 on the "héros doré") seems right here, since a John saw that vision.

Next come the birthday poems (21-24): the first two are dedicated to the *dioicetes* Constantine (21-22); in 21.1 it is hard not to hear Luke 1:28, *κεχαριτωμένη*. Since the birthday falls in the season of springing flowers and crops (21.3-4), perhaps the addressee was born around Annunciation day, 29 Phamenoth, like the next one, Theodore (23), whose natal star leads off the inundation that is God's gift around mid-July (ii.599, 601) and who could thus be named for the local St. Theodore of Hypselis (feast day 20 Epeiph). The last and earliest, on *dux* Athanasius, points to an explicit date in Phaophi (24.16; ii.603-4), month of harvest as appropriate to the imagery of abundance (if just a bit

<sup>30</sup> Trout, *op.cit.* (above, n. 24) 70-3, 75, 80-3.

<sup>31</sup> From the sixth century cf. Priscian, *De laude Anastasii imperatoris*, 80-6; ed./trans. P. Coyne (Lewiston, N.Y., 1991) 106-9.

<sup>32</sup> See G. Vikan, "Joseph Iconography on Coptic Textiles," *Gesta* 18 (1979) 99-108; and H. Maguire, "Garments Pleasing to God: The Significance of Domestic Textile Designs in the Early Byzantine Period," *DOP* 44 (1990) 215-24, esp. 221-3.

chronologically off). F. reminds us that the Hours (here and in 21.3) are called in Hesiod Good Rule,<sup>33</sup> Justice, and Peace, Dioscorus' favorite things to praise.

Of ordinary *encomia* we have the next seven, of which poem 25 thanks the notary John who has lived up to the meaning of his name by helping Dioscorus get on his feet in Antinoopolis, while the fragmentary 26 is written on the other side of a Coptic letter to Dioscorus from "his humble sister N." (note a woman writing in Coptic), Coptic Museum inv. 6602.<sup>34</sup> The solo iambic prologue 27 recycles both poetic and prose-petition material, while 28 is a sketch addressed to Colluthus in which the personified Thebaid addresses the neighboring province of Arcadia.

The *epithalamia* come next (32-37 and 50).<sup>35</sup> Dioscorus' use of the Graces in these poems, proper to the genre, combines the traditional three with their Christianized versions<sup>36</sup> of beauty, chastity, and freedom from sin (cf. Kuehn, *op.cit.* (above, n. 16) 188-93 [error aside], 195-8).<sup>37</sup> The poem for Matthew (33) abounds in wine imagery, perhaps recalling the fact that the apocryphal Martyrdom of St. Matthew (on which the Coptic Synaxarion draws) centers around eucharistic imagery, especially that of grapes and wine.<sup>38</sup> And Isaac whose wedding is *κεμνόν* (34.2) is named after the child whose birth was predicted to Abraham and Sarah by the Three Persons at Mamre (interpreted in the Coptic tradition as Christ and two angels). In 35.17 Dioscorus even throws in a quote from the *AP* (*AP* I.19.12).<sup>39</sup>

What follows are poems in various categories. The addressee of the epistle 38 is now identified from the play on words in line 5 as one Theodore or Dorotheos (I stand corrected). F. has placed the anacreontic (39) as a strophic party song celebrating *dux* Athanasius on his arrival (a "new governor," not a "young soldier"), and the *chairetismos* (40) as addressed to Justin II (not Justin-

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<sup>33</sup> A. Saija, *Lessico dei carmi di Dioscoro di Afrodito* (Messina 1995) 91 s.v. *εὐνομία*; and cf. below on the Graces in *epithalamia*.

<sup>34</sup> Not identified as a bilingual by G. Robinson in *ZPE* 70 (1987) 68, 71.

<sup>35</sup> F. might well have adduced the material in G. Vikan, "Art and Marriage in Early Byzantium," *DOP* 44 (1990) 145-63. F. explores the social setting of the genre further in *op.cit.* (above, n. 21), dealing with poem 50, esp. 71-3.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *Theou charis* in Vikan, *ibid.*, 153-4.

<sup>37</sup> F. might have sought a Neoplatonic parallel for 32 A 7 / 33.9 / 34.24. On gold in sixth-century Egypt see C. Meyer, "A Byzantine Gold-Mining Town in the Eastern Desert of Egypt: Bir Umm Fawakhir, 1993-93," *JRA* 8 (1995) 192-224, esp. 196-8, "Bir Umm Fawakhir and the Byzantine Gold Problem" (with credits to W. Kaegi and T. Hickey).

<sup>38</sup> R.A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden* II.2 (Braunschweig 1890, rp. Amsterdam 1976) 116 (a motif that does not appear in the Armenian version, trans. L. Leloir [Turnhout 1992] 655-65). 33.8 may also echo the Gospel of Matthew 22:11, 12.

<sup>39</sup> As he copied *AP* IX.357 (ii.670).

ian or Maurice),<sup>40</sup> related to the poem on his portrait<sup>41</sup> and bringing out a cosmic aspect of the emperor.<sup>42</sup> Then we have the *progymnasmata*: 41 on the two loves of Apollo,<sup>43</sup> and 42-46 on Achilles (especially his love for Polyxena) (44 and 45 are new). F. interprets these works, some of which borrow expressions from the *encomia*, as teaching tools.

He further views the Kalandos of 47 as not a Christian martyr but rather as the eponym of the Roman New Year, still celebrated by the Byzantine Egyptian élite (ii.657). And he has correctly read the name of the saint of 48 as not the obscure Senas but rather the famous Menas, showing that he was venerated at Aphroditon at a time when people sought to be buried at his *martyrion* (cf. lines 5-7). Finally, the new 51 is a poignant coda, Dioscorus' farewell to his departed Hellenic Muse.

The monumental work ends with a twenty-page section of cultural analysis (ii.669-690), viewing Dioscorus as the sum of his inheritance of reading and *praxis*. F. lists the contents of Dioscorus' library, many items the product of his own pen; he notes the incongruity that the Christian *notarios*' papers contained no law texts, Psalms or Gospels, but points out that what we have is the state of Dioscorus' library after he died, and perhaps he gave his Christian texts to the Apa Apollos monastery (ii.672). The three major authors he owned—Homer, Menander, and Isocrates—represented the literary values of the sixth century (ii.672); and in addition, we can make inferences about Dioscorus' culture from the documents too (ii.673). In all the works F. also discerns echoes of Hesiod, Euripides, Aristophanes, Nonnus of course and the ps.-Apollinarian hexameter Psalter; also possibly Musaeus, Pamprepius, and Paul

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<sup>40</sup> Kuehn devotes chap. 3 of his work, *op.cit.* (above, n. 16) 77-155 to considering these works as a unity, but surely veers far off the track into total fantasy in seeing it as a "prayer parody" with an impossible denigration of icon veneration lurking as a subtext.

<sup>41</sup> To F.'s reading of ... ὠνύξ... (ὠνύξ) as "fingernails" in 40.3 cf. perhaps an echo of the practice of fortune-telling by reflections in polished nails (D. McNeill, *The Face* [Boston 1998] 111).

<sup>42</sup> On κοσμοποιία (40.6; ii.650), cf. C. Scholten, "Titel-Gattung-Sitz im Leben: Probleme der Klassifizierung antiker Bibelauslegung am Beispiel der griechischen Hexaemeronsschriften," *JbAC Erg.* 23 (1996) 254-69.

<sup>43</sup> On the two sexes compare Nemesianus' Eclogue 4. Also, Dioscorus' Achilles is heterosexual.

the Silentiary. He devotes only just over two pages to Dioscorus' Christian culture: this is the section one might wish were longer!

The interaction F. is interested in is the documentary-literary interaction, under the all-determining umbrella of late antique rhetoric.<sup>44</sup> Documents got written with literary citations, adaptations, borrowings, and in a literary manner of written production complete with diacritics, so as to show off the culture of the composer/writer (ii. 684-5). Showing you had had a classical education got your message across by showing that you belonged to the right class. Documents for their part became literature, and literary authors were revered as master rhetors, patterns of how to do it well. To conclude, F. shows (ii.688-90) that Dioscorus wore three hats: man of letters, official, teacher (I would add a fourth, churchman); in the interplay of these three ("le 'triangle' dioscorien") and the "triumph of the *scholastikos*" he sees the key to "the cultural functioning of early Byzantine society" (ii.688). Beneficiary of an education designed to produce persuasive speakers and writers, Dioscorus fashioned himself as a poet, writer, official, teacher, and Christian in order to understand his own history and its context.<sup>45</sup>

A big book does not have to be a big evil (Dioscorus knew Callimachus): it can be a masterwork, deserving of a big treatment. *Hellénisme/Dioscore* is beautifully produced (except for a few oddities in the printing of English) by the French Institute in (we may be thankful) its new typeface. It is a monument of erudition and a source for much new enquiry into the mind and life of late antiquity. Live long and prosper, Captain Jean-Luc!

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<sup>44</sup> See L. Pernot, "Rhetoric," in *Late Antiquity* (above, n. 6) 669-70.

<sup>45</sup> It was not to last. Zimmermann continues (above n. 1), "... the survival of Greek intellectual traditions into Islamic times in no way requires the profession of such a creed [Hellenism] on the part of those in whom such traditions survived."

PEACOCK, D.P.S and V.A. MAXFIELD, with contributions by O. WILLIAMS-THORPE, I.C FREESTONE, J. LANG, W. VAN RENGEN, R.S. TOMBER, R.S. THORPE †, A.G. TINDLE and M.C. JONES. *Survey and Excavation: Mons Claudianus 1987-1993*. Vol. I: Topography and Quarries. Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale; 1997. xi + 366 pages; several tables, photos, maps and plans (FIFAO 37). ISBN 2-7247-0192-5.

When I visited Mons Claudianus for the first time in 1980, it was beyond the beyond, marginally more accessible than the moon, whose landscape it resembles. Only the geologists had the maps and trucks to get in. It was also the most amazingly complete Roman fort I had ever seen from main gate to battlements, temple to baths. It has now been mapped and studied by two expeditions<sup>1</sup> and it is in increasing danger from careless visitors and from looting. On the other hand, somewhat improved accessibility has resulted in work such as *Mons Claudianus 1987-1993*, Vol. I, which contributes enormously to our understanding of the site and Roman imperial uses of the Eastern Desert of Egypt.

The present is the first of three planned volumes. It starts with a very brief introduction to the location, geology, flora and fauna, as well as previous work at the site and vicinity; the maps throughout are numerous and useful (Chapter 1). Turning to structural details (Chapter 2), the authors note the column drums built into the north corners of the fort as evidence for quarrying at Mons Claudianus before the fort was built. Construction units, houses or groups of houses and special buildings are discussed and illustrated individually, with supplementary drawings to clarify architectural features. Final interpretation of the complicated building history and the evolution of the tortuous circulation patterns, however, awaits

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<sup>1</sup> See also T. Kraus and J. Röder, "Mons Claudianus – Bericht über eine erste Erkundungsfahrt im März 1961," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Archäologischen Insitut (Kairo)* 18 (1962) 80-120; and T. Kraus, J. Röder, and W. Müller-Wiener, "Mons Claudianus – Mons Porhyrites. Bericht über die zweite Forschungsreise 1964," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Archäologischen Insitut (Kairo)* 22 (1967) 108-205.

the completion of the pottery studies. Certainly, the excavators faced many special problems of mapping and stratigraphy such as still-roofed buildings, domes and half-domes, roofs used for working, storage, and presumably sleeping, trash deposited on roofs of rooms still functioning in antiquity, covered alleys, stairways over doors to roofs, windows, and ventilation openings, all features well preserved at Mons Claudianus. Despite its military appearance, the authors conclude that the fort, which lay in a low spot and whose internal roofs were level with or taller than the ramparts, was ill equipped to hold off more than small, badly coordinated attacks. That there was a military contingent, however, is clear from the ostraca, one of which lists water distribution on one day to 920 people, of whom sixty were soldiers.

To the west, just beyond the gate, lies a large stable and storage installation, almost half the size of the fort itself. The northern half appears to have sheltered animals—camels, donkeys, and horses are attested—but probably only for on-site work. The stable area is actually smaller than the animal shelters on the road to the Nile, so apparently larger numbers of animals were brought in when there was a special hauling job such as a completed column. The south half of the complex is now identified as a storage area. To the west again is a large but collapsed well, one of several that provided the all-important water supply.

The central building within the fort may or may not be a temple, but the one upslope to the northwest certainly is. Even part of the processional way from the fort's gate and up a broad stairway to the forecourt of the temple is preserved. An altar dedicated by Annius Rufus, *praepositus operi marmorum Monti Claudiano*, makes this site one of the easiest to identify. The architrave inscription says that the temple is dedicated rather inclusively to Zeus Helios Great Serapis and "the gods who share his temple" (p. 111). With its side rooms and passages, cella and elaborately niched side shrine, columns and capitals, the temple has gained much from being mapped and explicated in detail as it is here. (I also learn with regret that one of the handsomest capitals has been stolen and one of the inscriptions removed for its own safety.)

In addition to the stables, stores, and the Zeus-Serapis temple, the so-called Governor's House and the baths are outside the fort as



well, between the temple and the stables. The House, said to be "generously laid out" (p. 118), is briefly described, but the baths are treated in more detail, including notes on the apodyterium (changing and exercise room), tepidarium, frigidarium containing a small, well-preserved, tank with three one-quarter steps in the corner, brick hypocaust vaults, cauldarium, pipes and water supply, side rooms, praefurnium, and various stages of construction and repair. The text descriptions do not always match the building plans, but a close reading indicates that, for instance, a door might have existed where a solid wall is drawn. This is usually a problem of wall tumble, and without excavation such questions simply cannot be settled.

As is usual in the desert forts, trash was dumped outside the main gate, and in the case of Mons Claudianus, just around the south corner as well. As expected, these two dumps were rich in cultural debris and ostraca, to be treated in the next two volumes, but, less expectedly, both dumps covered remains of older buildings. A large, looted cemetery is also noted but was not studied in detail.

Mons Claudianus, however, is more than the fort itself. Ruins and workings extend well beyond, and the "Hydreuma" about a kilometer south may actually be the original settlement (Chapter 3). It consists of another well-preserved fort with barracks-like rooms ranged along one street; two strikingly large, plastered water tanks plus many lesser tanks and troughs; ruined workers' houses downslope; the presumed commandant's house; and a possible temple. Ostraca from the Hydreuma date to the time of Nero, before the main fort of Mons Claudianus. By way of completeness, the authors note a stone tower and three hundred or so huts in the Wadi Diqal, one of the approaches to the Hydreuma and Mons Claudianus (Chapter 4). The tower, the first striking landmark indicating the approach to Mons Claudianus, sits near a deep, ancient well and inside the remnants of an enclosure wall. The tower is, however, badly sited for a watch post. Further, it is almost solid and the door halfway up leads only to some steps—another desert mystery. The huts, dated by LRA 1 amphora sherds to the late 5<sup>th</sup>-early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D., resemble the buildings at the gold-mining town of Bir Umm Fawakhir to the south, but there is no obvious evidence of quarrying or mining in the immediate vicinity. The walls in the

Wadi Diqal, long called aqueducts, are more likely to be attempts at flood control (Chapter 5). Mention of them leads to a brief discussion of the water supply for hundreds of workers and animals, not to mention the baths, at Mons Claudianus, and in fact there seem to have been at least six wells.

Finally, the quarry and fort at Wadi Barud, ancient Tiberiane, about 10 km southeast of Mons Claudianus, were also investigated (Chapter 8). From this quarry was obtained a coarse quartz diorite, the "granito bianco e nero" or "Tiberian marble". The fort is smaller but quite similar to Mons Claudianus, and a trench in the seabkh dump outside the gate yielded two hundred ostraca, all apparently of Antonine date.

The studies of the quarries (Chapter 6) are where *Mons Claudianus* Vol. I gets really interesting. The 130-odd quarry sites are a rare opportunity to study a nearly intact ancient quarry, and the maps, excavations, and physical analyses are all new information, sometimes based on experimental data. Most of the quarry sites are small, selected for ease of extracting usable stone, and most could have yielded no more than three or four columns each. The primary product was columns, though there are other items such as bifid columns, column drums, capitals, basins and a bath, blocks, and "boat-shaped" and "mushroom-shaped" blocks. The columns break down into standard lengths of 12, 20, 24, and about 50 feet, which suggests both the filling of special orders such as for the Pantheon and the shaping and stockpiling of standard sizes.

The discussion of tools is based mostly on lists on ostraca and marks on the stone as only two iron points (earlier surface finds, p. 251) and a few small iron plates were recovered. Picks and chisels, better suited to softer stones, were not used, though there is much evidence for wedges, in the form of nine types of wedge or slot marks. In general, workers seem to have started by chipping away the weathered and exfoliated surface of the stone to find suitable material. That decided, long trenches were cut, often following the joint system, to outline the column. Wedge slots were cut at the bottom of the trenches, which effectively deepened the wedge slots. The larger the block to be extracted, the deeper the slots must be. The critical stage is hammering in the wedges, which were probably iron. One man with a hammer can do this, but he must keep the

wedges vertical, prevent them from touching the bottom of the slots, and sense (and hear) the tension building up in the rock as he moves from wedge to wedge. A number of cracked columns and basins mark failures.

Working teams consisted of approximately four stone cutters to one smith. At an estimate, one worker could cut four slots in one day and would need as many as seventeen iron points (p. 197). The basic team would be supported by others hauling off debris, the skilled hammer man, a foreman, carpenters, animal handlers, and others as needed.

Almost 200 quarry marks are tallied in the catalog, but most are very abbreviated or cryptic. On page 225, however, the reader is startled to encounter "the Murismos stone ... which loves Trajan." A quick check of the plate shows that it really does say "ΦΙΛΟΤΡΑΙΝΟC". A sundial chipped on a rock is also unusual, and further information on quarrying may exist in the ostraca, which await future publication.

Out of 130 quarries, 53 have huts nearby, and almost half of those have ash or slag in them. Some were evidently used to shelter the workmen; one has 24 wall niches, presumably for holding clothes or personal possessions. Four huts, 84, 89, 92, and 98, were excavated. Hut 84 had four iron-quenching water tanks (not in simultaneous use) made of stones and plaster with much evidence of metalworking. Hut 89 had two tanks, one divided into four compartments, and the best-preserved forge. The latter was a rough arrangement of felsite stones coated with a vitrified layer; impressions of the hollows for the tuyeres and the bellows emplacement lead away to one side. The other two huts yielded slag, charcoal, reddened surfaces, another water tank, but less evidence of actual forges. The residues of iron-working, the "hammer scale", siliceous and fayalitic slags, and hearth bottoms made of vitrified granodiorite and melted sherds, suggest that only iron-smithing, not smelting, took place. For this only small forges would be needed, and, as ever in the desert, fuel was a problem.

Linking the quarries and the fort, a number of intervisible watch towers or *skopeloi* were sited on hilltops. Most were quite small, though two, odd, truncated cone towers near the Hydreuma measured 6 and 4 meters across at the base respectively. Unfortu-

nately all the photos of the *skopeloi*, plates 6.86 through 6.88, were lost somewhere between the manuscript and binding.

Chapter 7 concerns haulage, getting the blocks and columns out of the quarries, across the desert 120 km to the Nile. A large, 60 foot column would weigh about 207 tonnes (207,000 kg; the text switches between English and metric systems). A couple of slots suggest the possibility of limited use of cranes, but there are many slipways as much as half a kilometer long. They are often lined with dry-stone cairns or bollards of uncertain use. At the ends of the slipways are loading ramps whose heights suggest different size carts, as do the width of the cart tracks. Most of the latter are 9 or 7 1/2 feet wide, though others range up to eleven feet; carts apparently had little capacity for turning. One ostrakon mentions a twelve wheeled cart, and wheels could have been up to 2 meters in diameter and tires very wide for exceptionally heavy loads (p. 262). Donkeys—well attested at Mons Claudianus—mules, or camels (though the latter are hard to harness) are possible means of traction. One calculation indicates that it would take 400 to 450 donkeys for one large column, a "prodigious requirement", but the suggestion that animals were used for normal loads and more tractable humans for the heaviest loads (p. 264) may need reconsideration, especially given the requirements for non-brackish water, food, and other supplies. The desert roads are little more than cleared tracks with a few paved bits at difficult spots, but the probable routes to the Nile are reviewed by the authors.

The magnetic susceptibility studies in chapter 9 attempt to answer the question of variability in the stone among Mons Claudianus quarries. In all 1,514 measurements were made, which show a larger range of susceptibilities than usual for a granodiorite quarry. In general the susceptibility increases from west to east, after accounting for possible effects of foliation, dykes, weathering, and anomalous patches of weathering. This gradient is clear in figure 9.2, a computer-generated map of the core of the Mons Claudianus area and the only color plate in the volume. The conclusion is that artifacts with a very high (8 to >10) or very low susceptibility (< 4) can probably be related to small quarry areas about 700 to 800 meters across, but susceptibilities in-between are harder to place. Fifty artifacts were also tested and statistical procedures—a variant of

the t-test—were used to figure out the most likely original quarries. In particular, tests on stones from the Zeus-Serapis temple, the pillar wadi, and elsewhere indicate that several quarries were in use at the same time. The measurements are compared briefly to ones from Rome and Hadrian's Villa, and these too indicate exploitation of different areas early on, opportunistic quarrying rather than systematically shifting from, say, east to west over time.

Chapter 10 covers the petrology of the Mons Claudianus stone and X-ray fluorescence and microprobe analysis studies. Usually called "granite", the stone has also been classified as "granodiorite," "quartz diorite," "granodiorite/quartz diorite," "tonalite," or "granodiorite/tonalite," though for the purposes of this volume "granodiorite" (Mackenzie classification) was chosen. It is also known as "granito del foro," a distinctive salt-and-pepper color. Is it possible to trace an archaeological stone artifact, a column for instance, to its source? For the Mons Claudianus project, all known, accessible sources of granito del foro in the Mediterranean, Turkey, around the Black Sea, and at Mons Claudianus itself, were compared. The first step was to collect small samples of rock from each quarry for comparison. The Mons Claudianus granodiorite is visually distinct from all other similar sources, except one on Corsica, which is chemically different. The results of X-ray fluorescence were promising, but due to the large sample size needed, microprobe analyses, which require only two or three crystals, yielded more information. Microprobe analyses on samples from 24 potential granito del foro quarries around the Mediterranean were matched against analyses of columns from Italy, north Africa, France, and Turkey. The results indicate that the columns from Hadrian's Villa, the Baths of Caracalla, and the Pantheon match the readings for Mons Claudianus; in short, the method is surprisingly successful in distinguishing the sources of visually similar rocks.

On the one hand *Mons Claudianus* Vol. I can be considered an honorable and timely report on field work, thoroughly documented with maps and plans and photographs. On the other, the architectural reconstructions, complete catalog of quarry marks and other data, special studies of quarrying and smithing, and the physical analyses go well beyond straight description. The book, then, provides a wealth of new information for those interested in the Roman

frontier, Egypt, fortifications, economics, or quarrying, in the Eastern Desert of Egypt, or in new applications of physical analyses to archaeological material.

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*Filodemo. Memorie epicuree (P.Herc. 1418 e 310). Edizione, traduzione e commento a cura di CESIRA MILITELLO.* La scuola di Epicuro, v. 16. Napoli: Bibliopolis, 1997. 319 pages. ISBN 88-708-8343-4.

The *Memories of Epicurus*, written by Philodemus, appears in *P.Herc.* 1418 and 310 and constitutes a collection of quotations from the correspondence between Epicurus and his two disciples. The work comprises various themes, originally topics of discussion by Philodemus and his disciples, and subsequently collected by him in literary, even if abbreviated form. True, the author's partial intervention and even the nature of the work itself as well as the bad physical condition of the papyrus, all render analysis of this work problematic. Nevertheless, Cesira Militello (thereafter CM) has succeeded in reading for the first time *P.Herc.* 310, establishing thereby its actual content and its identification with *P.Herc.* 1418.

The study opens with a long introduction (pp. 25-94) in which CM examines the content, structure and purpose of the *Memories of Epicurus*. She observes that, given the incomplete nature of the first part of the papyrus, only Philodemus' intervention in the text and her own analysis of the section on Cronius, help us understand the documentary and historiographical contribution of this work, whose essential purpose is to preserve the memory of the "minor" figures of the Epicurean school.

Then, CM moves on to consider the problem of the work's sources. This raises important questions on a) the nature and number of the sources used by Philodemus, and b) whether these sources were made up as an assembly of letters. This section concludes with a discussion of the typology of the letters of Epicurus and the Epicureans as recorded in the *Memories of Epicurus*, written by Philodemus. The introduction ends with an examination of the reconstruction of *P.Herc.* 310 and *P.Herc.* 1418, a further examination of the text of *Pragmateiai*, a presentation of *P.Herc.* 118, 1787, 239, and the problem posed by the titles of 1418 and 310.

The introduction is followed by a preface discussing the date, the composition and the physical condition of 1448 and 310. The

preface also includes a discussion of textual and spelling matters, diacritical signs used by the scribes, as well as scribal errors and corrections. There is also a brief presentation of the current edition of 1418, based on examination of the papyrus under a microscope.

The edition offers a detailed *apparatus criticus* that lists variant readings, supplements and other testimonia. The Greek text is followed by an index of sigla and abbreviations, and a translation which is overall exceptionally lucid and accurate and particularly helpful for grasping the subtle nuances of the original. Finally the commentary, which constitutes the last part of the work, is rich in grammatical, stylistic, historical, religious and cultural remarks, all aiming at resolving, each in its distinct manner, the difficulties presented by the text, thus providing readers with further valuable assistance. The edition ends with an *index nominum* (pp. 313-4) and an *index verborum* (pp. 315-9), both giving readers a handy access to the text.

CM has produced an edition of extraordinary quality that I highly recommend both to students and scholars, and she has accomplished an attentive and accurate reading of a magnificent text that, until recently, laid in obscurity. Overall, the volume, so rich in fineness and precision, constitutes an excellent piece of scholarly work, which I expect to be highly quoted, for it contributes to a renewed study of *P.Herc.* 1418 and 310. Indeed, in its totality, this edition stands out as a very useful contribution to the knowledge of the structure, content, and purpose of these two texts and is distinguished for its impeccable presentation of the material, and its clear, practical, and user friendly structure.

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GIGANTE, MARCELLO. *Altre ricerche Filodeme*, presentazione di Fulvio Tessitore. Biblioteca della parola del passato, v. 18. Gaetano Macchiarolli Editore, 1998. 192 pages. ISBN 88-858-2323-8.

This collection of essays contains Marcello Gigante's (hereafter G.) writings on Philodemus published in the past 30 years. Thus, all chapters in this book have been already published in the form of articles in various journals.

These articles are:

1. "Filodemo e Ierocle," *PP* 117 (1967) 461.

G. compares the motif of the cause of death, as expressed by Philodemus in book IV, *On Death* (*P.Herc.* 1050), col. 37, 27ff., with that of the Stoic philosopher Hierocles in *Excerptum of Philosophoumena*, where he likens life to a long-lasting war. This comparison enables G. to reveal the passionate style of these two philosophers, especially their coherence and philosophical skill.

2. "Varrone, furio Bibaculo e Cleante," *NAAN* 49 (1975) 193-202.

In this article, G. attempts a comparison of the testimonia on Marcus Furius Bibaculus, the Latin poet born in 103 B.C. at Cremona, and Cleanthes, a student of Zeno (331-232 B.C.), and his successor as head of the Stoa after his death. The comparison concerns philosophical, religious and literary issues. On the basis of it, the author demonstrates that Varro has found the key to the interpretation and to an in-depth understanding of the exegetical concept articulated by the Alexandrine and Stoic philologists, especially Cleanthes.

3. "Filodemo e la storia," *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology*. I (Athens 1988) 153-65.

This study attempts an appreciation of the personality of Philodemus from Gadara and an analysis of his role in Roman culture. In particular, it seeks to assess the role of this Epicurean philosopher as it relates to past and present history, for which Philodemus repeatedly expresses his interest throughout his work,

especially in his references to the ruling political class and to the transformation of the republic into an independent state.

4. "La brigata virgiliana a Ercolano," in *Virgilio e gli Augusti* (Napoli 1990) 7-22.

This article has a two-fold basis. It relies on the information coming from a fragment of the corpus of Herculaneum papyri on Virgil and the literary group at Herculaneum, as well as on the recent discovery of a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus on the poet Philodemus, the star of the Epicurean renaissance in Italy during the period of Cicero and Lucretius, Virgil and Horace.

5. "Virgilio e i suoi amici tra Napoli e Ercolano," *Atti e memorie dell'accademia nazionale Virgiliana di scienze, lettere ed arti* N.S. 54 (1991) 87-125.

In this study, G. deals with the activities of Virgil at Campania, as related in the works of Siron and Philodemus and such friends of his at Naples and Herculaneum, as Lucius Varius Rufus and Plotius Tucca.

6. "Filodemo tra poesia e prosa (A proposito di *P.Oxy.* 3724)," *SIFC* III serie, vol. 7 (1989) 129-51.

*P.Oxy.* LIV 3724, published by Peter J. Parsons in 1987, provides the author with the material to study the poetical personality, the name and poetical works of Philodemus, and as a result thereof to make manifest his decisive role in the history of Hellenistic poetry.

7. "Lucio Vario Rufo e Virgilio," *SO* 71 (1996) 100ff.

This brief two page article deals with a fragment of Lucius Varius Rufus on the model of the *vir bonus*. The fragment was preserved in Horace and it has not hitherto attracted scholarly attention.

8. "Philodemo e l'epigramma," *ChronErc* 22 (1992), 5-8.

Here G. compares book II of Aristotle's *Poetics* with Philodemus' works and focuses his study on epic and tragic drama without ex-

amining the topics of lyrical monody and lyrical choral. Nevertheless, he elaborates on epigrammatic poetry. According to G., Philodemus utilized the epigrams of Callimachus and Meleager as models. The poetry of Philodemus is steeped in epigrams. It is an *eidos* suited to exalt a personal experience, and it obeys a technique of brevity and efficacy. Its purpose is not only to educate, but also to amuse.

9. "Filodemo e Archiloco," *ChronErc* 23 (1993) 5-10.

G. attempts to trace the "systematic" history of a fragment of Archilochus (253 West) transmitted by a Herculaneum papyrus, whose credibility nowadays, unfortunately, can no longer be verified. His study is a discussion of Archilochus as an iambic poet.

10. "Philodemo nella ricerca di A. Rostagni," in *Augusto Rostagni filologo classico*. Atti della accademia delle scienze di Torino. Cl. di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Suppl. 126 (1992) 44-57.

This article examines Augustus Rostagni's research on Philodemus that took place in the years 1920-1930. This research encompasses the role of philology in the interpretation of ancient authors. G. indicates the specificity of Rostagni's philological contribution to the acceptance of limits on the general interpretation of Philodemus, whom he considers as a precursor to the aesthetics of intuition, as well as a theoretician of form and content.

In conclusion, this collection of essays written by G. emphasizes several aspects of the life of Philodemus and reveals several important facets of his work. Overall, the essays highlight Philodemus' poetic and philosophical output and, in their totality, they constitute an essential contribution to a more exact and well-rounded knowledge of the personality and the work of Philodemus.

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MONTEVECCHI, ORSOLINA. *Scripta Selecta*, a cura di Sergio Daris. Milan: Vita e Pensiero; 1998. xvi + 433 pages + 4 plates. (*Biblioteca di Aevum Antiquum* 12). ISBN 88-343-1744-0 (paperback), 88-343-0092-0 (bound).

The title of Grand Old Man of Papyrology is keenly contested presently by several very worthy contenders. But for its feminine equivalent (La Grande Dame de la Papyrologie?) there is no contest. For two decades now that crown has belonged to Orsolina Montevocchi (henceforth M.). This selection of her scholarly writings (listed here on pp. ix-xvi, they begin in 1932) shows us why.

Chosen by the author herself from her publications since 1970, the pieces are presented in three sections and give an excellent overview of M.'s achievement. Included are her papers from all the Papyrology Congresses since 1974, with the exception of Athens (1986), when she was AIP President, as well as papers from other European conferences—many of them otherwise quite difficult to obtain—and a selection of items from Italian journals, particularly *Aegyptus*, of which M. has been the guiding light for many decades now.

M.'s particular areas of interest have always been the papyri of the Julio-Claudian period and the control of the population through the 14-year census cycle. These interests naturally surface in all three sections of the book. Thus the first part (*Storia, Natura e Metodi della Papirologia*) begins with an illuminating discussion (pp. 3-16) of the publication history of *P.Med.* 3 + *P.Col.* inv. 8, which remains the earliest surviving census return known (see now R.S. Bagnall and B.W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* [Cambridge 1994] 2-5). The next paper (pp. 17-32) addresses "Storia" with an account of Amedeo Peyron (1785-1870), one of the pioneering figures of Italian papyrology. This theme continues with a wider focus in "La Papirologia nella cultura italiana" (pp. 33-51), and culminates in M.'s valedictory lecture (pp. 53-73), given at the time of her retirement from the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore in 1986, surveying the achievements and future prospects of her Scuola di Papirologia.

The second section (Cinque Imperatori secondo i Papyri) presents a selection of M.'s many contributions to the study of the papyri of the early imperial period. M.'s publications list reveals an early biography of Tiberius (*Tiberio imperatore*, Brescia 1946) and so the section fittingly begins with her more recent discussion of the papyrological dating of the beginning of the reign of Tiberius (pp. 77-82 = *YCLS* 28 [1985] 267-72). Nevertheless, the bulk of the articles in this section reveals her continuing fascination throughout the 1970s with Nero's connections with Egypt: "Nero a una polis e ai 6475" (pp. 83-112 = *Aegyptus* 50 [1970] 5-33; the earliest article to be reprinted, but rightfully in view of its importance), "Ἐρουκ ἐβδόμου ἱεροῦ Νέρωνος" (pp. 113-21), "Nerone e l'Egitto. Postille" (pp. 123-32), "L'ascesa al trono di Nerone e le tribù alessandrine" (pp. 133-52), and "Il significato dell'età neroniana secondo i papiri" (pp. 153-69). Then, in the 1980's we find her interests advancing to take in Vespasian's acclamation by the Egyptians (pp. 171-85), the visit of Titus to Egypt in A.D. 71 (pp. 187-97), and Hadrian's emulation of Alexander in the foundation of Antinoopolis (pp. 199-212).

The final section (Problemi Sociali e Amministrativi) is the longest, taking up approximately half the volume. The Julio-Claudians appear here too, in "La crisi economica sotto Claudio e Nerone: nuove testimonianze" (pp. 305-15), but most of the papers here are concerned with the census and the associated *epikrisis* texts: "L'*epikrisis* dei Greco-Egizii" (pp. 215-21), "Il censimento romano d'Egitto. Precisazioni" (pp. 223-37), "Endogamia e cittadinanza romana in Egitto" (pp. 251-8), "Aigyptios-Hellen in età romana" (pp. 329-44), "PSI V 457. Un caso di endogamia o una semplificazione del formulario?" (pp. 385-90), "Problemi di un'epoca di transizione. La grecità d'Egitto tra il I<sup>a</sup> e il I<sup>p</sup>" (pp. 391-400), "Laos. Linee di una ricerca storico-linguistica" (pp. 401-19). They range in date from 1975 to 1997 and underline the importance of M.'s ongoing contribution in this area. Some of the earlier ones are now inevitably slightly dated, and I wonder whether the editor Daris might not have put them all together and added a short bibliographical update.

Another group of four papers (pp. 265-304) concerns a small archive of the second century B.C. papyri from the Arsinoite, *P. Med. Bar.*, and includes M.'s *ed. pr.* of *P. Med. Bar.* 1 (illustr. Pl.

III). A reference to the publication of further *P.Med.Bar.* texts in *P.Mil.Congr.XVIII = Aegyptus* 66 (1986) 3-38, and by L. Criscuolo, *Aegyptus* 71 (1991) 12-3 (*ed. pr.* of *P.Med.Bar.* 13), needs to be added now at p. 271 n.4. Three other papers, on the terminology of pregnancy ("Πόσων μηνῶν ἔστιν. *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3312" [pp. 259-64]), the Gnomon of the Idios Logos on the inheritance rights of children raised ἀπὸ κοπιῶς (pp. 317-28), and "*BGU* IV 1139: *paramone e trophitis*" (pp. 345-54), are clearly connected with M.'s work on the corpus of nursing contracts, which she produced in collaboration with M. Manca Masciadri (*I contratti di baliatico. Corpora Papyrorum Graecarum* I. Milano 1984) and reflect her long held interest, going back to her *Aegyptus* articles of the 1930's and 1940's, in the sociology of Greco-Roman Egypt as we see it reflected in legal and quasi-legal documents. That interest of course is also one of the great strengths of M.'s very useful papyrological handbook, *La Papirologia*, Turin 1973, 2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed. Milan 1988.

Compared to the earlier period, the third century A.D. has never engaged M.'s interest and attention to the same extent. Nevertheless, the successful results of a brief flirtation with it in the late 1980's are welcome inclusions here: "Note sull'applicazione della *Constitutio Antoniniana* in Egitto" (pp. 355-69), and "La documentazione papiracea del III secolo d.C. Aspetti e problemi" (pp. 371-83). Last, but not least, in this section is a paper on "Opinioni pubblica e *rumores* nei papiri greci" (pp. 239-50) in which M. discusses traces of antisemitism in several private letters of the early Roman period. Since this paper first appeared in 1978, Clarysse (*BL* VII, 59) has re-read the verb in *P.Giss.* 24.4 = *CPJ* II 437 = *W.Chrest.* 15 as ἡπτήσωσι{σι} in place of *ed. pr.*'s ὀπτήσωσι{σι}. The result is that the strategus Apollonius's mother is no longer praying to Hermes that the Jews do not roast and eat her son, but the less dramatic new reading undercuts much of M.'s argument on pp. 247 ff. Incidentally, this reference to the Jews provides an opportunity to conclude by explaining why M.'s other major scholarly interest, the links between the Bible and papyri, is not represented here. A selection of her writings on this area has been put together concurrently by A. Passoni Dell'Acqua under the title *Bibbia e papiri. Luce dai papiri sulla Bibbia greca*, Barcelona 1998.

The present volume is rounded out with several useful Indices. In conclusion this collection provides a fine overview of the life's work of one of the greatest living scholars in the field of papyrology. Her influence through her friends, colleagues and students will be felt for many generations to come.

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## BOOKS RECEIVED

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- BIEDENKOPF-ZIEHNER, ANNELIESE. *Koptische Ostraka. Ostraka aus dem Britischen Museum in London, Ostraka aus dem Ashmolean Museum in Oxford*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000. 2 volumes (xi + 342 pages + 52 plates; x + 312 pages + 18 plates). ISBN: 3-447-04328-8.
- BOWMAN, ALAN K., PETER GARNSEY, and DOMINIC RATHBONE, editors. *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Vol. 11: *The High Empire, A.D. 70-192*. Second Edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2000. xxi + 1222 pages. ISBN: 0-521-26335-2.
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